DOUBLE ISSUE

MARCH 16 / MARCH 23, 2020

# TIME

1996

## Ruth Bader Ginsburg

*Changemaker*

time.com

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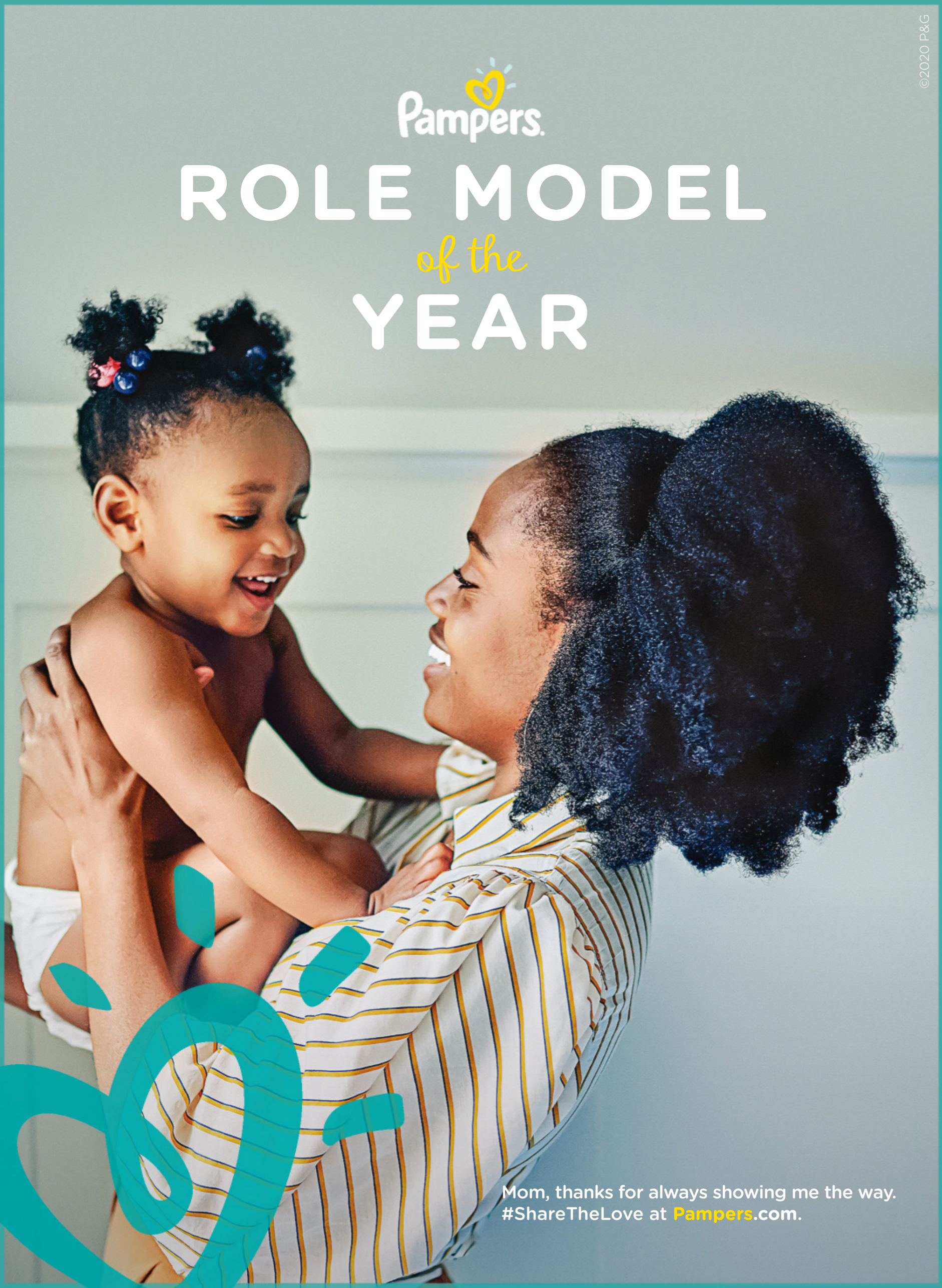

1987

# Diana, Princess of Wales

*The people's princess*

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MARSHA P. JOHNSON (1969)

**Pride over prejudice**

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# TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

MARGARET CHASE SMITH (1950)

Conscience of a nation

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MARCH 16 / MARCH 23, 2020

# TIME

2014

## Beyoncé Knowles-Carter

*Rewriting the rules*

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VOL. 195, NOS. 9–10 | 2020

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# SHE STARTED A CHAIN REACTION

Else Schulze, PhD, 1926
P&G Chemical Division Department Head

PEARLINE

1900
**LET THE MEN WASH**

1973
**MADE FOR A WOMAN**

Secret

always

2014
**#LIKEAGIRL**

2016
**#SHARETHELOAD**

ARIEL

PANTENE

2019
**I'M BEAUTIFULGBTQ+**

2020
**BEAUTY IS #NOCOMPETITION**

SK-II

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# From the Editors

## *WOMEN OF INFLUENCE*

JUDITH HEUMANN KNEW WHAT IT MEANT TO BE SEEN. IN 1977, after regulations for the first federal disability-rights law stalled, Heumann, an activist and wheelchair user, organized a sit-in, crowding more than 100 disabled protesters into a San Francisco federal building. "We demonstrated to the entire nation that disabled people could take control over our own lives," she said. A month later, the regulations were signed, ushering in a new era of accessibility for millions of Americans.

Heumann's stirring story is just one example of the 100 in this issue. Also featured are chemist Rosalind Franklin, whose role in identifying the structure of DNA was overlooked in favor of her male colleagues, and environmental activist Wangari Maathai, who spent International Women's Day in 2001 in jail for planting trees. Inspired by TIME's annual Person of the Year, we chose an influential woman for each year starting in 1920, marking the 100th anniversary of women's suffrage in the U.S.

Before 2015, only seven individual women had ever been named Person of the Year. Indeed, what started in 1927 as Man of the Year only switched to Person of the Year in 1999.

For me, seeing women on the cover of a magazine created by men for "busy men," as TIME's founders wrote in their original prospectus, is always powerful. I joined TIME in 2012, when over the course of a year just a handful of women were featured on the cover. In 2019, TIME featured more solo women on its cover than men for the first time in our 97-year history. The world has changed and TIME has too, but there have always been women worthy of TIME's cover.

Our creative partner, filmmaker Alma Har'el, provided invaluable inspiration and is co-producing a documentary on this project. Creative director D.W. Pine and his team faithfully reconstructed cover designs of previous eras, working with dozens of artists to make 89 new covers, and design director Chrissy Dunleavy crafted the issue. Editors Emma Barker and Merrill Fabry worked with the TIME staff and outside experts to carve the final list from 600 nominations, while photo editor Michelle Molloy and the TIME photo team spent months researching image archives.

The feminist movement is always about progress, and acknowledging the role of women in history is as much about looking ahead as it is about re-examining the past. As Gloria Steinem wrote in these pages 50 years ago, "The most radical goal of the movement is egalitarianism."

Kelly

*Kelly Conniff,* EXECUTIVE EDITOR & EDITORIAL DIRECTOR, 100 WOMEN OF THE YEAR

**ON THE COVERS** **JANE FAWCETT AND THE CODEBREAKERS** ILLUSTRATION BY MARK SUMMERS FOR TIME; FAWCETT FAMILY/ANTHONY CROWLEY/CAMERA PRESS/REDUX **CHIEN-SHIUNG WU** ILLUSTRATION BY JENNIFER DIONISIO FOR TIME; BETTMANN/GETTY **MARGARET CHASE SMITH** ILLUSTRATION BY ALAN DINGMAN FOR TIME; BETTMANN/GETTY **THE BUS RIDERS** ART BY LAVETT BALLARD FOR TIME; AP (2), GETTY (4) **GRACE HOPPER** ILLUSTRATION BY MARC BURCKHARDT FOR TIME; ALAMY **JACQUELINE KENNEDY** PAINTING BY SHANA WILSON FOR TIME **MARSHA P. JOHNSON** ART BY MICKALENE THOMAS FOR TIME; JOHNSON: ARLENE GOTTFRIED—DANIEL COONEY FINE ART; SIGN: DIANA DAVIES © NYPL/ART RESOURCE, NY **INDIRA GANDHI** ILLUSTRATION BY MERCEDES DEBELLARD FOR TIME; GILBERT UZAN—GAMMA-RAPHO/GETTY **JUDITH HEUMANN** ILLUSTRATION BY JASON SEILER FOR TIME; HOLLYNN D'LIL/BECOMING REAL IN 24 DAYS **DIANA, PRINCESS OF WALES** PAPER SCULPTURE BY YULIA BRODSKAYA FOR TIME **TONI MORRISON** PORTRAIT BY TIM OKAMURA FOR TIME; SCHIFFER-FUCHS—ULLSTEIN BILD/GETTY **RUTH BADER GINSBURG** PAINTING BY SHANA WILSON FOR TIME **J.K. ROWLING** ILLUSTRATION BY LU CONG FOR TIME **WANGARI MAATHAI** ART BY BISA BUTLER FOR TIME; CLEMENS SCHARRE—THE RIGHT LIVELIHOOD FOUNDATION **OPRAH WINFREY** ILLUSTRATION BY AMANDA LENZ FOR TIME **BEYONCÉ KNOWLES-CARTER** PAINTING BY TOYIN OJIH ODUTOLA FOR TIME

The new DWEN community site launches soon, scan to get on the early access list or go to **DWEN.com/connect**.

DELL Technologies

*From left: committee members Lena Waithe, Katie Couric, Mj Rodriguez, Amanda Nguyen, Elaine Welteroth, Soledad O'Brien, Alma Har'el, Zazie Beetz and Nancy Gibbs, photographed on Feb. 16 in New York City*

# DOCUMENTING THE PROCESS

BY ALMA HAR'EL

EACH GENERATION INHERITS A HISTORY, FOCUSED through the lens of those who came before it—but time tends to reveal a greater depth of field. In the words of Edith P. Mayo, a curator emeritus at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, "When you're invisible, people assume that you've done nothing."

I was born in Tel Aviv, in a country where God-worshipping men wake at dawn to say their morning *Tefillah*, or prayer. Among meditations of thankfulness for gifts like sight and freedom, they thank the ruler of their universe for one more thing: not making them a woman.

As a daughter of secular parents, I asked why. An Orthodox rabbi might say, Because a man's role in the world is celebrated while a woman's role is only acknowledged behind closed doors. At the other edges of faith, a more progressive rabbi might explain it as a reminder that women are paid less, face the daily threat of sexual violence and often end up written out of history. Each morning prayer is a call of duty to fight for a world in which the *Shechinah*—considered the "feminine" aspect of God—is back from exile.

As a female filmmaker working in a male-dominated industry that often writes women out, I take solace in pioneers like Alice Guy-Blaché, who directed nearly a thousand films and started a film studio long before Hollywood was booming.

She's one of more than a hundred reasons I joined forces with TIME to help the publication use its influential global platform to celebrate International Women's Day by immortalizing a century of visionary, brave women who each might have been a Woman of the Year, were the scales not tipped against them. In order to do this list justice, we convened a committee of gifted female thinkers from various disciplines and backgrounds. I'm thankful for their conversation, which was illuminating, inspiring and proof that while the contributions of many women throughout history may have been erased, it's up to us to make sure they won't be forgotten.

I hope these women will make you proud of human history as they call on you to make your own.

*Har'el, the award-winning director of* Honey Boy, *is co-producing a documentary on this project*

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CAMILA FALQUEZ FOR TIME

Hear my story and
I will hear yours.

FACEBOOK

## WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

**THE FIGHT FOR EQUALITY** The March 2/March 9 special issue on Martin Luther King Jr.'s legacy and the state of equality in America prompted Texas Congressman Lloyd Doggett to tweet a line from a piece by his colleague, Representative John Lewis: "What is happening is a threat to our democracy." For Otegha K. Uwagba, the line to share was from sociologist Tressie McMillan Cottom's essay on inequality in the gig economy, about how poor black Americans are "hustling from zero." The piece "cuts straight to the bone," Uwagba tweeted. Also on Twitter, Guthrie Graves-Fitzsimmons said the profile of the Rev. William J. Barber II, about how he holds that "being a person of faith means fighting for justice," was a reminder of "Jesus' call … to fight for social and economic justice."

> ***'Thank you for stepping out of the normal comfort zones.'***
>
> **ELMER J. SAUNDERS,** Plano, Texas

**REMEMBERING KOBE BRYANT** Readers said the Feb. 10 cover featuring NBA star Kobe Bryant would become "a keepsake," as Gilbert B. Battung of San Ramon, Calif., put it. Russ Kelley of Largo, Fla., wrote that while he's "not a huge fan of basketball," the "perfect" cover image stuck with him because of Bryant's pose, "like he was saying goodbye." And Esther Lerman of Oakland, Calif., wrote that Evette Dionne's essay on wrestling with the controversial aspects of Bryant's past "thoughtfully and clearly" acknowledged "the trauma he caused as well as the joy he brought."

> ***'Sports has a way of bringing us together in joy and disappointment.'***
>
> **LINDA ROBERTSON,** Richmond, Calif.

## The March

On Feb. 26 at the DuSable Museum of African American History in Chicago, TIME unveiled *The March,* a virtual reality re-creation of the 1963 March on Washington and Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. The launch featured performances by the Compton Kidz Club and King College Prep Choir, top. The experience, executive-produced by Viola Davis and Julius Tennon and created in partnership with the Estate of Martin Luther King Jr., and supported by American Family Insurance, will run in Chicago through November. Learn more, book tickets, and find future locations at **time.com/the-march**

**PROGRAMMING NOTE** TIME's 100 Women of the Year is a special double issue that will be on sale for two weeks. The next issue of TIME will be published on March 19 and available on newsstands March 20.

**bonus TIME health**

Keep up to date on coronavirus and the threat to global health with TIME's new daily newsletter on COVID-19. For the latest numbers, expert tips for prevention and insight into the impact of the virus on people and society, sign up for free at **time.com/coronavirus**

**SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT** In the March 2/March 9 issue, a profile of the Rev. William J. Barber II misquoted one of his statements. Barber said that "Republicans have racialized poverty," not "property."

THE MARCH, VR: DANIEL BOCZARSKI—GETTY IMAGES FOR TIME (2); MAGAZINES: FRANCIS SON

# UNBEATABLE STRENGTH* THAT'S EASY TO SWALLOW

FAST ACTING

## WHAT PAIN?

*Among OTC pain medicines. Use as directed. ©2019 GSK group of companies or its licensor.

# For the Record

**‘I kind of dominated the match if I’m being honest.’**

**HEAVEN FITCH,**
high school wrestler, who on Feb. 22 became the first girl to win an individual North Carolina state championship in the sport, after beating seven boys in her bracket

*‘Compliments on a woman’s appearance that some men, including me, might have once incorrectly thought were O.K. were never O.K.’*

**CHRIS MATTHEWS,** political commentator, announcing his abrupt retirement from MSNBC’s *Hardball* on March 2; he was accused of making inappropriate comments to women who appeared on his show

# ‘DO NOT DEPORT YOUR PEOPLE AND YOUR PROBLEMS.’

**JACINDA ARDERN,**
New Zealand Prime Minister, in a Feb. 28 joint news conference with Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison, on that country’s policy of deporting foreign-born criminal offenders

**‘The absence of a judicial remedy doesn’t render Congress powerless.’**

**THOMAS B. GRIFFITH,**
federal judge, in a Feb. 28 appeals court ruling that Congress can’t use lawsuits to enforce subpoenas of Executive Branch officials, and must use political tools instead

**$208 MILLION**

**FCC fines potentially facing U.S. wireless carriers for secretly selling customers’ location data, the agency announced on Feb. 28**

*‘I’m done for the season.’*

**SPIKE LEE,**
filmmaker and basketball fan, vowing on March 3 not to go back to a Knicks game after getting into an argument with officials at New York City’s Madison Square Garden; Lee has spent almost $10 million on Knicks tickets over 30 years

**25**

Total number of seasons of *Judge Judy,* after it was revealed March 2 that the upcoming season of the courtroom show will be its last

**Yogurt**
**A truck spilled more than 30,000 lb. of yogurt on a New York State highway**

**Cheese**
**The World Championship Cheese Contest kicked off in Madison, Wis.**

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: THE GUARDIAN; AP; THE WASHINGTON POST; MSNBC; THE NEW YORK TIMES; TECHCRUNCH; CNN; USA TODAY

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19_227643

# The Brief

**FACE OF THE WORLD**
**A bus passenger in Tehran on March 2**

## INSIDE


*BIDEN'S BIG NIGHT CHANGES THE RACE*

*WHAT THE TENNESSEE TORNADO LEFT IN ITS WAKE*

*INDIAN MUSLIMS FLEE DELHI AFTER ATTACKS*


PHOTOGRAPH BY AHMAD HALABISAZ

HEALTH

# As coronavirus spreads, so do questions

THOUGH IT MAY FEEL AS IF WE'VE BEEN living with COVID-19 for a lifetime, that's partly because things are moving so fast. It took about a week from when the World Health Organization (WHO) received reports of a novel coronavirus for Chinese scientists to sequence its genetic blueprint and just weeks more for labs to develop a test that could accurately identify it. Yet scientists are still scrambling for basic information that will be key to designing an effective public-health plan—including how fast the virus spreads and how often infections are deadly. Here's some of what we know so far.

### How is COVID-19 actually transmitted—and how can I protect myself?

First, definitions: a coronavirus is called novel because it's new and the human body has no immunity to it. SARS-CoV-2 is the technical name of this one. COVID-19 is the disease it causes.

The virus is spread by coughs or sneezes, which release virus-containing respiratory droplets into the air, where they could be inhaled by others or land on mouths or noses, if people happen to be within a distance of about six feet. It may seem like a face mask would be the best guard against this kind of spread, but the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) doesn't currently recommend them for healthy people, except on a doctor's advice, largely because there's not enough evidence that masks actually stop SARS-CoV-2 from infecting people wearing them. (The CDC does recommend masks for those who are sick, to stop droplets from getting out in the first place.)

Then there is the issue of coming into contact with those droplets wherever they happen to land. For healthy people, that means the most important prevention is frequent handwashing, preferably using soap and water. Experts have recently backed away from encouraging alcohol-based hand sanitizers, as they can contribute to the rise of antibiotic resistance. And there's no major reason to opt for a fist bump instead of a handshake, or to avoid such greetings, as an infected person would have to sneeze or cough into his hand and touch someone else's hand, and that second person would then have to place that hand in close contact with his nose, mouth or eyes. Long story short: the best thing you can do to keep yourself from catching the virus is to wash your hands regularly and avoid touching your face. —ALICE PARK

*Commuters in Tokyo wear masks, which the CDC doesn't recommend for healthy people*

### So should I stock up on cleaning products?

Many people are racing to stockpile disinfectants and sanitizers—to the extent that major retailers are concerned about shortages. A representative from the Clorox Company also confirmed to TIME that it has "increased production of our disinfecting products." These products have not been specifically tested against the virus that causes COVID-19, since it is new, but experts are optimistic. "Standard cleaning products that will kill other viruses will be presumptively fine," says Dr. Aaron Glatt, chief of infectious diseases at Mount Sinai South Nassau in New York.

But Dr. Rick Martinello, medical director for infection prevention at the Yale New Haven Health System, says you don't need to go overboard. "I wouldn't recommend anything beyond routine cleaning in a typical household," he says. The exception, of course, is if someone in your house is diagnosed with or suspected of having COVID-19; in that case, Martinello says, try to designate a bathroom for their use and routinely wipe down surfaces they touch. —JAMIE DUCHARME

### Who's most at risk?

Maybe not kids. A late-February study in the

PREVIOUS PAGE: XINHUA/SIPA USA; TOKYO: CARL COURT—GETTY IMAGES

*Journal of the American Medical Association* showed that children under 10 accounted for just 1% of all COVID-19 cases while adults in the 30-to-79 age groups represented a whopping 87%. The WHO found something similar in China specifically. And older people who get the illness are more likely to suffer a severe or fatal case. In this sense, COVID-19 behaves a lot like seasonal flu: 70% to 85% of all U.S. flu deaths and 50% to 70% of flu-related hospitalizations occur among people in the 65-plus age group, according to the CDC. It's possible that because of some quirk of biology, children are less susceptible than adults to COVID-19 infection; their cells may be less hospitable to the virus, making it more difficult for it to replicate and spread in this population, says Dr. Mark Denison, a pediatric infectious-disease specialist at Vanderbilt University School of Medicine.

That said, authors of a *New England Journal of Medicine* article published in January note that children may just be showing milder symptoms than adults, making them less likely to seek medical care when they get the virus and thus less likely to be counted. In any case, it seems that, at least right now, kids are at relatively low risk. —J.D. *and* JEFFREY KLUGER

***'I wouldn't recommend anything beyond routine cleaning in a typical household.'***

**DR. RICK MARTINELLO,** Yale New Haven Health System

**So if seniors are at risk, what should they do?**

Not only are older adults likely to have weaker immune systems, but they also have a higher likelihood of exposure to pathogens in general—especially in residential senior facilities. In the event of coronavirus infection in such a facility, seniors should avoid communal rooms and even group meals, says Dr. Steven Gambert, director of geriatrics at the University of Maryland School of Medicine. Then there are the doctor's-office visits. People with multiple medical conditions typically visit multiple specialists, and every such visit means entering an environment that can be teeming with viruses and bacteria. Dr. Teena Chopra, medical director of infection prevention and hospital epidemiology at Wayne State University, advises older patients to postpone doctor visits that aren't essential, like ophthalmologist appointments or dental cleanings. Staying current on vaccines—especially those for flu and pneumonia—can also be critical.

Finally, it's important to remember that the way COVID-19 presents itself in a younger person is not always the way it presents itself in someone who's older. "Any reason you don't feel the same as you usually do should not be dismissed," Gambert says. —J.K.

**Will my insurance cover this?**

For Americans, it's complicated. The federal government has been covering initial coronavirus testing, and tests will continue to be covered by Medicaid and Medicare. But as testing expands to academic and commercial labs, it's likely they'll charge other patients. America's Health Insurance Plans, the insurance industry's main trade group says insurers will cover any "reasonable, medically necessary" costs related to COVID-19, just as they would for other medical conditions. That means if you have a plan, the coronavirus test and other care will likely be covered. However, patients will still face all the regular complications of the U.S. health care system, including surprise bills, restrictions on doctors and high deductibles. That last point is particularly key at this time of year: if patients haven't yet spent down their deductibles, which for most people reset each January, they'll have to pay more out of pocket.

New York said it would require some insurance companies to waive costs for testing, and lawmakers and experts are urging more action. While the insurance trade group is "monitoring the situation," it has not recommended that insurers change their policies to help people access COVID-19 care. So for now, coronavirus is covered—or not—similarly to other health needs. —ABIGAIL ABRAMS

**Should I cancel my upcoming travel?**

With more than 92,000 cases reported in dozens

of countries, health and government agencies around the globe have issued warnings about international travel. In the U.S., for example, the CDC recommends people avoid nonessential travel to China, Iran, South Korea and Italy. Several airlines have already suspended or reduced service to virus hot spots. David Abramson, a professor at New York University's School of Global Public Health, says he thinks people should avoid traveling in the coming weeks and months, especially if they feel unwell or aren't required to go anywhere. "This is a pretty volatile time," he says. "And by the time you travel, it may look different. You can't anticipate where the cases are going to appear." Still, the WHO has said that curbing travel and trade is generally "ineffective" in stopping the spread of disease. According to a notice from the organization, travel restrictions can "interrupt needed aid and technical support" and cause disruptions to affected countries' economy.

Those traveling domestically are advised to follow guidelines already in place to ward off the virus. At home or on the road, stay away from those who appear to be sick, don't touch your face, and make sure to wash your hands. —MAHITA GAJANAN

***'This is a pretty volatile time. And by the time you travel, it may look different.'***

**DAVID ABRAMSON,** New York University School of Global Public Health

### Is a vaccine coming soon?

Not for at least a year. In the last week of February, Moderna Therapeutics, a biotech company based in Cambridge, Mass., shipped the first vials of its COVID-19 vaccine to the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID), part of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) in Bethesda, Md. NIAID is now readying the vaccine for human testing as early as April. Moderna's vaccine against COVID-19 was developed in record time—just 42 days after the genetic sequence of SARS-CoV-2 was released by Chinese researchers in mid-January.

Nearly as important in the fight against COVID-19 are antivirals, drugs that can be administered to those infected in order to limit the virus' ability to reproduce and spread to others. In late February, NIH scientists also began testing an antiviral drug called remdesivir that had been developed for Ebola; volunteers will be randomly assigned to receive either the drug or a placebo intravenously for 10 days, as doctors track the amount of virus in their bodies. If the drug shows some efficacy in keeping blood levels of SARS-CoV-2 from growing, it could help contain the spread of the infection. —A.P.

### Will warm weather help?

President Donald Trump has floated the idea that coronavirus might soon be nothing to worry about, saying at a Feb. 10 rally that "in theory, when it gets a little warmer, it miraculously goes away." Indonesian officials have also suggested a warm climate will protect their country. But experts warn not to count on summer as a solution.

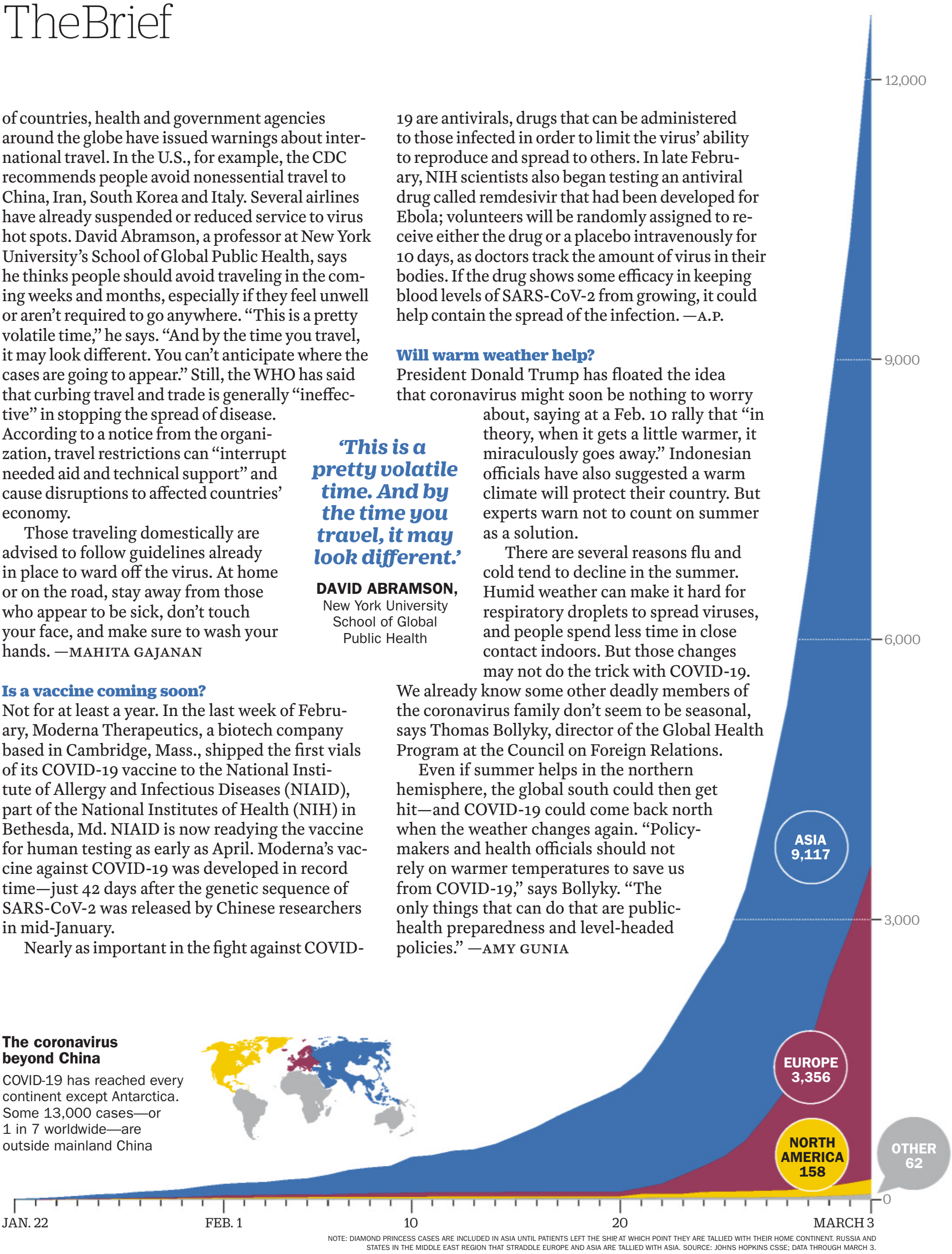
There are several reasons flu and cold tend to decline in the summer. Humid weather can make it hard for respiratory droplets to spread viruses, and people spend less time in close contact indoors. But those changes may not do the trick with COVID-19. We already know some other deadly members of the coronavirus family don't seem to be seasonal, says Thomas Bollyky, director of the Global Health Program at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Even if summer helps in the northern hemisphere, the global south could then get hit—and COVID-19 could come back north when the weather changes again. "Policymakers and health officials should not rely on warmer temperatures to save us from COVID-19," says Bollyky. "The only things that can do that are public-health preparedness and level-headed policies." —AMY GUNIA

**The coronavirus beyond China**

COVID-19 has reached every continent except Antarctica. Some 13,000 cases—or 1 in 7 worldwide—are outside mainland China






NOTE: DIAMOND PRINCESS CASES ARE INCLUDED IN ASIA UNTIL PATIENTS LEFT THE SHIP AT WHICH POINT THEY ARE TALLIED WITH THEIR HOME CONTINENT. RUSSIA AND STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST REGION THAT STRADDLE EUROPE AND ASIA ARE TALLIED WITH ASIA. SOURCE: JOHNS HOPKINS CSSE; DATA THROUGH MARCH 3.

# The time for containment is over

By Alice Park

THERE COMES A POINT IN the unfolding of every epidemic when public-health officials acknowledge that despite their best efforts, an invisible microbial foe has managed to outwit them. That time has come. As cases of COVID-19 began to wane in early March in China, there was a surge in new infections around the globe, from Iran to Italy, South Korea to the U.S.

Deaths also rose—the U.S. recorded its first coronavirus-related mortalities—and health officials warned that the disease has "pandemic potential." There are now more than 80,000 cases of COVID-19 infection in mainland China and nearly 13,000 outside the country, with the latter tally growing daily.

When the Chinese government took the unprecedented steps of quarantining first the city of Wuhan, where COVID-19 emerged, and then 60 million people living in the province of Hubei, where Wuhan is located, the hope was to contain the virus. If the people most likely to have been exposed to and infected by the virus couldn't travel, then they couldn't spread the disease very far.

That was also President Donald Trump's public reasoning for the aggressive travel restrictions the U.S. government put in place in January, denying entry to many foreign nationals from China, and funneling passengers arriving in the U.S. who might have traveled to China through select airports where they had their temperature scanned and then, for those with a fever, on to further testing and monitoring.

But if COVID-19 has taught government and public-health leaders anything, it's that containment, in an era when viruses are given wings through the ease of international travel, is increasingly only a short-term strategy for combatting infectious disease. And that's especially true when it comes to the COVID-19 virus, which appears to jump covertly from person to person by piggybacking in some hosts without really making them sick.

Detecting these people is akin to capturing clouds, and public-health officials are now acknowledging that the time for containment has slipped through their fingers. But that reality is proving more difficult for political leaders to accept. At his first press conference directly addressing the COVID-19 outbreak, Trump downplayed its potential impact in the U.S., declaring that a widespread uptick is "not inevitable. The risk to the American people remains very low." Chancellor Angela Merkel reassured the German public on her website that "the German health system is well prepared." Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan, along with the International Olympic Committee, maintains that the Summer Games will continue as planned in that country, but critics say the Health Ministry has held back on testing for the disease out of fear that it would expose an alarming number of infections.

**BETTING TOO HEAVILY** on containment's succeeding almost certainly slowed preparations for dealing with the virus' spread, including scaling up testing and medical-facility capacity to accommodate a possible surge in patients. "The cat is out of the bag. COVID-19 cannot be contained, and we know this is going to be a pandemic," says Dr. Tom Frieden, former director of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and president and CEO of Resolve to Save Lives.

What's making the shift from containment to control especially difficult is COVID-19's unknowns: its contagiousness, incubation period and deadliness. "It could be like an average flu year, or way worse, or not as bad—we just don't know," says Frieden. U.S. health officials anticipate that in order to minimize transmission of the disease, some communities will need to adopt policies like advising employees to work from home and canceling public gatherings.

That's just a glimpse of what might be coming not just for Americans but for people worldwide, warn the residents of Wuhan. "There are so many things you can't see with your eyes, like the emotional damage people suffer from, especially the survivors who have lost family members to this outbreak," says Togo, a resident who anonymously volunteers online to connect COVID-19 patients with treatment. "But this is only on the outside. The way they were hurt, the scars they have, will never recover."

*—With reporting by* CHARLIE CAMPBELL/BEIJING

**78**

Number of countries and territories with confirmed cases of COVID-19

**92,844**

Number of documented cases of the coronavirus infection, globally

**3,160**

Global count of deaths due to COVID-19 infection

NUMBERS ARE AS OF MARCH 3, 2020, AND COME FROM A DATA REPOSITORY MANAGED BY THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR SYSTEMS SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

POLITICS

# The party comes to Biden

By Molly Ball

ON THE BIGGEST DAY OF VOTING IN THE 2020 DEMOcratic primary, Joe Biden's presidential hopes came roaring back to life. "They don't call it Super Tuesday for nothing!" Biden exulted as he rallied supporters in Los Angeles on the evening of March 3, flanked by his wife and sister. "People are talking about a revolution? We started a movement!" It was a not-so-subtle jab at Senator Bernie Sanders, the self-styled revolutionary who looked like he was on his way to the nomination before everything turned topsy-turvy. The Super Tuesday voting in 14 states, which awarded about one-third of the total delegates in the Democratic primary, capped a whirlwind few days that reordered the campaign and catapulted Biden to the front of the pack.

Biden's resurrection sets up a fight for the party's nomination between two starkly different candidates and visions for the future: on one side Biden, a former Vice President who boasts broad support among moderates, African Americans and Democratic officials; on the other Sanders, an independent democratic socialist with a grassroots army that has animated this election cycle but struggled to expand its ranks. Sanders casts the race from here as a one-on-one scramble for delegates that could continue all the way to the party's nominating convention in Milwaukee in July. Biden's allies hoped his momentum would become unstoppable and Sanders would continue to fade.

Two other major candidates, Elizabeth Warren and Mike Bloomberg, saw their hopes of a comeback squelched. Bloomberg, the billionaire former New York City mayor who spent more than $500 million building a massive, Super Tuesday–focused operation that yielded a single win in American Samoa, announced March 4 that he would leave the race and support Biden. And while Warren professed to be in it for the long haul, she is 0 for 18 in state primaries, and sank to third in her home state of Massachusetts. Her campaign said she was meeting with aides to determine next steps.

**THAT BIDEN AND SANDERS** would be the last two standing scarcely seemed possible even a week earlier. Sanders had won the most votes in the first three contests in Iowa, New Hampshire and Nevada. After a brutal start to his campaign, Biden's resounding win in the Feb. 29 South Carolina primary triggered a rapid chain of events: Just hours before Super Tuesday voting began, two of his top rivals, Pete Buttigieg and Amy Klobuchar, threw their support behind him, followed by another former candidate, Beto O'Rourke, a favorite of Texas Democrats. Twenty-four hours later, the returns confirmed his status as the Democratic establishment's alternative to Sanders. As of March 4, the former Vice President had won Alabama, Arkansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Six of the 10 victories were by double-digit margins, allowing him to rack up delegates, which are allocated proportionally to candidates with at least 15% of the vote. Sanders was projected to win California, the biggest delegate prize, as well as Colorado, Utah and his home state of Vermont.

While Biden's aides had expected a strong showing in the South, the campaign's upset victory in Texas was key given the state's delegate haul, the second largest of the night. In the suburbs of cities like Houston and Dallas, where Democrats' gains in 2018 helped lift them to the House majority, moderate Democratic voters appeared to recoil at Sanders' liberal

## THE DELEGATE RACE

BIDEN
566

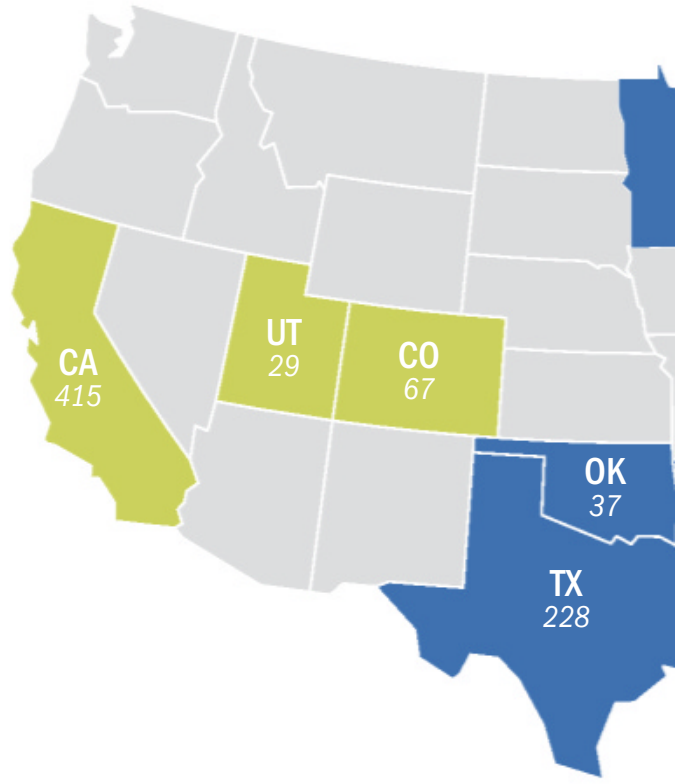
SANDERS
501

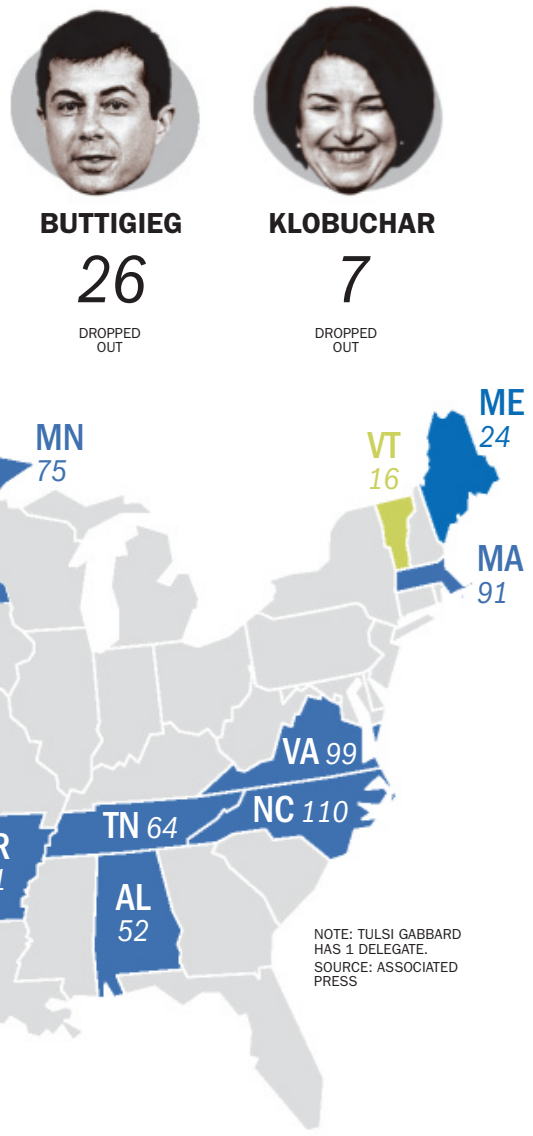
WARREN
61

BLOOMBERG
53
DROPPED OUT

## SUPER TUESDAY RESULTS

Candidate delegate tallies are current as of 5:30 p.m. E.T. on March 4. Map shows the total number of delegates to be awarded by each state and the winner (or leader) of each primary.






PATRICK SEMANSKY—AP (6); BIDEN: TAMIR KALIFA—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

rallying cry. "People are freaked out" by Sanders, says Colin Strother, a Texas Democratic strategist who argued that if Sanders is at the top of the ticket, he has concerns about down-ballot candidates. "We think we're going to get creamed." Strother is a political adviser to Representative Henry Cuellar, a moderate Democrat who beat back a liberal primary challenger—another proof point in the case against the far left.

**EVEN BIDEN'S SENIOR** aides were surprised by the rout. "Was this not exactly what I told you was going to happen?" a senior Biden campaign official joked as his victory came into view. But Biden's romp came not from voters' long-standing preferences but from a last-minute stampede. Nearly as stunning as the speed of Biden's turnaround was the fact that it didn't seem to be because of anything the candidate himself did. Instead, the party came to him.

Biden had made some changes to his campaign after his fourth-place showing in Iowa on Feb. 3, only to fare even worse in the next contest, finishing fifth in the Feb. 11 New Hampshire primary. He was second in the Feb. 22 Nevada caucuses but with just 20% of the vote. His debate performances were uneven, and his campaign so low on money he couldn't afford to place major advertising buys, build a ground game or even poll the Super Tuesday states. But he benefited from events outside his control. Bloomberg's dismal debate performances discouraged moderates still looking for a deus ex machina. And Sanders' early successes alarmed rank-and-file Democrats looking for a centrist nominee in November.

All the while, Biden kept insisting that the largely African-American Democratic electorate of South Carolina would stick with him. And in the end it did, thanks in part to a crucial endorsement from the influential South Carolina Representative Jim Clyburn. Biden's landslide there changed the race. He claimed to have raised $15 million in three days and was endorsed by a parade of Democratic Party elders and elected officials as well as Buttigieg and Klobuchar. When Minnesota broke Biden's way, headquarters erupted into chants of "Amy!"

Several Biden fundraisers told TIME that after South Carolina, donors who had contributed the maximum $2,800 to his rivals swiftly re-opened their wallets. "There's been an outpouring of people" wanting to donate, says Alan Patricof, a top Biden fundraiser and New York City venture capitalist. "It's a much more positive atmosphere."

Exit polls indicated that Biden's strongest voter demographics, African Americans and older Democrats, provided the base for his March 3 victories, bolstered by a late-breaking wave of educated suburban moderates. An unusually high proportion of the electorate, more than 40%, told pollsters they chose a candidate in the final few days, an indication of the uncertainty and concern as Democrats grapple with the central question of how best to take on President Trump in November.

Sanders worked hard to expand the passionate movement he began to build in 2016, by focusing on reaching out to minority, working class and young voters while arguing that he is the most electable candidate. But turnout to date has not shown that he can vastly expand the electorate, and voters in most of the March 3 states appeared unconvinced. Exit polls showed voters prioritizing a candidate they thought could win in November over one who agreed with their views by a 2-to-1 ratio. It was Biden, not Sanders, who could claim to be driving up turnout in places like Virginia, where nearly twice as many people voted as did in 2016 and the former Vice President topped the Vermont Senator by 30 points.

Sanders, for his part, remains unbowed. "I think we go forward basically neck and neck," Sanders told reporters at a press conference in Burlington on March 4. "What this campaign, I think, is increasingly about is, which side are you on?" He contrasted his record and Biden's, pointing to their divergent positions on the Iraq War, "disastrous trade agreements" and consumer protection. He attacked Biden for his position on Social Security and released a new ad tying himself to former President Barack Obama—a U-turn for a candidate who has assailed the party Obama led and reportedly considered primarying the President in 2012.

Sanders' strong base and delegate total still give him a shot to win the nomination. His grassroots fundraising remains unparalleled: the campaign raked in $46.5 million in February from more than 2.2 million donations. Backers argue he will benefit from a one-on-one contrast with Biden. But Biden's wins on Super Tuesday marked a dramatic shift in momentum. "The entire month of February was a perfect storm for Bernie Sanders," says Addisu Demissie, an uncommitted California-based strategist who managed the campaign of Senator Cory Booker. "And then the first three days of March were a perfect storm for Joe Biden and may have reversed all of that. It's hard to believe how much has changed."

*—With reporting by* ALANA ABRAMSON *and* PHILIP ELLIOTT/WASHINGTON, CHARLOTTE ALTER/LOS ANGELES, KATY STEINMETZ/OAKLAND *and* LISSANDRA VILLA/HOUSTON ◻

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**SONEQUA MARTIN-GREEN**
Stand Up To Cancer Ambassador

Photo By
MATT SAYLES

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NEWS TICKER

## Migrant death after Turkey opens border

A child died after a boat carrying 48 people capsized off the Greek island of Lesbos on March 2. It was the first reported death since **Turkey announced it was opening its borders** with Europe to migrants on Feb. 29, resulting in a huge increase in people attempting to get from there to Greece.

## U.S. seeks new fees from immigrants

Under a proposed Executive Office for Immigration Review regulation released Feb. 27, it could cost immigrants nearly $1,000 to fight deportation in court—**nearly 10 times the previous amount.** The rule would also charge asylum seekers a $50 court fee, with waiver applications available for those who can't pay.

## Netanyahu tops Israel's election

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu claimed victory over centrist rival Benny Gantz in **Israel's general election on March 2,** the country's third in less than a year. Results suggested Netanyahu's conservative Likud party failed to win an outright majority, but he called it a "victory against all odds."

**TRAIL OF DESTRUCTION** Fallen trees and other debris covers buildings in northern downtown Nashville after a tornado ripped through the city and surrounding area in the early hours of March 3. At least 24 people were killed across four counties, including several children—making it the second-deadliest tornado in Tennessee history. Dozens of structures, including homes and churches, collapsed during the storm, and disrupted power lines cut electricity for 50,000 buildings.

THE BULLETIN

## After Delhi violence, Muslims in India fear what's next

SURROUNDED BY SMOLDERING HOUSES and burned cars in northeast New Delhi, Mohammed Efaz said he would never return to India's capital. "We will never come back here to live among Hindus," Efaz told TIME as he loaded his small truck, preparing to flee to his home village after riots in Delhi left at least 47 people, mostly Muslims, dead in late February. "The divide between Hindus and Muslims is unbridgeable now."

**MEAN STREETS** Beginning Feb. 23 and lasting several days, the riots were a bloody milestone after six years of Hindu-nationalist rule. Since winning re-election with a huge majority in May, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has pushed policies that critics say put Muslims at risk, including a controversial citizenship law in December that sparked months of protests. The Delhi riots began after a local Hindu-nationalist politician called for Muslim protesters to be cleared from the streets, but many observers said the febrile climate made violence inevitable.

**MOB RULE** Some Hindus were also killed, but it quickly emerged that Modi's BJP and the Delhi police force his government oversees had quietly supported the mobs targeting Muslims; rioters chanted slogans, burned buildings and beat Muslims as police reportedly looked on. "They have tacit permission, and probably also protection," says Thomas Blom Hansen, a scholar of Hindu nationalism at Stanford University. Modi condemned the violence three days after it began, but experts say that while the BJP claimed noninvolvement, its rhetoric and policies were responsible.

**BURNED BRIDGES** Muslims, who make up some 15% of India's population to Hindus' 79%, fear not only more violence but also continued government persecution. Before driving away with his wife and son, Efaz had no doubt who was to blame. "The BJP has won in its battle to paint all Muslims as traitors," he said. "This is what the Hindu nationalists wanted." —BILLY PERRIGO/LONDON *and* SAMEER YASIR/DELHI

NASHVILLE: REED WELCH—MAGNUS NEWS/SIPA USA; WELCH: TOM STOCKILL—CAMERA PRESS/REDUX; LIPTON: FOX IMAGE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

DIED

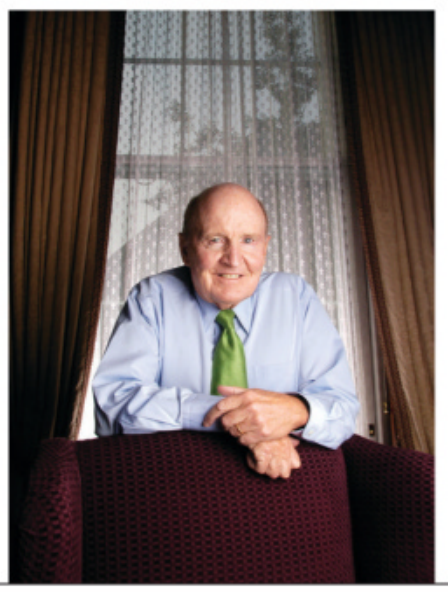
## Jack Welch

*Business leader*

WHEN HE TOOK THE REINS of American industrial behemoth General Electric in 1981, Jack Welch—who died March 1 at 84—launched a new era at the manufacturer. He cut divisions making small household appliances, which were stymied by competition from Asia; drastically expanded GE's finance business; and shed thousands of jobs "for productivity reasons." During his tenure, revenue nearly quintupled, and Welch retired in 2001 with a record $417 million exit package and a reputation as one of the most revered executives of the 20th century.

GE has since fallen on harder times, and so has Welch's legacy. The 2008 crisis made the finance arm a liability, and he has been denounced by critics for outsourcing manufacturing to China. Welch's management style has fallen out of favor among executives, and executives have fallen out of favor with the public. But Welch was not one for looking backward. Among his precepts was this one: "If we wait for the perfect answer, the world will pass us by."

—ALEJANDRO DE LA GARZA



*Lipton, guest-starring as himself on an episode of* Glee *in 2012, above, won an Emmy in 2013 for* Inside the Actors Studio

DIED

## James Lipton

*Maestro of the master class*

**By Ellen Burstyn**

WHEN JAMES LIPTON, WHO DIED MARCH 2 AT 93, FIRST CAME to the writer-directors unit at the Actors Studio, I knew who he was from his 1968 book, *An Exaltation of Larks*. What I didn't know was that he was not only a writer but also an actor and a producer and a director. I was very impressed with all his accomplishments in so many different areas.

This was soon after the death in 1982 of Lee Strasberg, who was head of the studio, and we had to take over the responsibility of keeping the Actors Studio going. We invited Jim to be on the board, and he suggested the idea that we develop a master's-degree program, so we'd have a workshop for professional actors but also a school that trains the new generation. Jim became the dean of the school, and then we designed a master class where members of the studio, like Al Pacino and Paul Newman, would come in and be interviewed by Jim for the students. Then Jim said, "You know, we really should tape this." And that became *Inside the Actors Studio*.

I've never known anybody who did so many things in so many different directions so well. I was most shocked when he turned out to be an expert horseman! And he was very amusing with a great sense of humor, so he was quite a spectacular person to know and to work with all these years. We are all going to miss him desperately.

***Burstyn** is an actor and a current co-president of the Actors Studio*

DIED

Pioneering physicist and technologist **Freeman Dyson,** on Feb. 28, at 96.

> **Joe Coulombe,** founder of grocery chain Trader Joe's, on Feb. 28, at 89.

OPENED

The Vatican archives of **Pope Pius XII,** who reigned from 1939 to 1958, on March 2. He has been accused of turning a blind eye to the Holocaust.

NOMINATED

Representative John Ratcliffe, to become **Director of National Intelligence,** President Trump said on Feb. 28. In 2019, Ratcliffe withdrew an earlier bid for the job.

DECLINED

Colombia's Constitutional Court, to rule on a **high-profile abortion case,** on March 2, leaving the country's restrictive abortion laws in effect.

RULED

That Trump Administration immigration official **Ken Cuccinelli**'s appointment was unlawful, by a federal judge, on March 1.

AWARDED

The 2020 **Pritzker Prize,** to Dublin-based architects Yvonne Farrell and Shelley McNamara, on March 3. They are the first two women to share the award.

INSERTED

Misleading language about the science behind climate change, into at least nine **U.S. Interior Department** reports, by an agency official, according to a New York *Times* report published March 2.

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# The View

WORLD

## GIVE PEACE A CHANCE

By James Stavridis

As we take the first major, halting steps toward a peace agreement in Afghanistan, all I can remember is how we got there in the first place. On 9/11, I was a newly promoted one-star admiral, working on the Navy staff in the Pentagon. My office was in the new section of the building, and I literally watched the airplane hit the Pentagon.

INSIDE


*HOW CORONAVIRUS IS SHAKING THE WORLD ECONOMY*

*TIME TO RETHINK HOW TO PLAN FOR RETIREMENT*

*WHAT YOU CANNOT LEARN FROM DNA TESTS*

As I stumbled out of the burning building onto the grassy field below, the irony of the moment struck me: here I was, in the safest building on earth, guarded by the strongest military in history, in the capital of the richest country in the world. If the Pentagon wasn't safe, what was?

We all knew everything would change, especially for those of us in the U.S. military. I was wrenched out of my comfortable assignment as a strategic budget officer and selected to lead "Deep Blue," a hastily created think tank charged with charting a new course for the Navy in what would become known as the war on terror. We didn't really know what that meant, nor did we appreciate all that would unfold in so many places around the world, and how many would die as a result of our retaliation. But we did know that the plot that killed 3,000 Americans had begun in Afghanistan, and very quickly the focus of the U.S. military became going there, finding al-Qaeda and destroying them. The Taliban—who had harbored them—were at the time a small obstacle that we quickly overcame. As tens of thousands of U.S. troops deployed to a strange, foreboding nation whose geography seemed to resemble the surface of the moon, we could never have predicted we were embarking on the longest war in U.S. history.

*Afghanistan's President Ashraf Ghani, right, with NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg on Feb. 29*

Over nearly two decades, hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops rotated through Afghanistan, generally on one-year assignments. At the conflict's peak in 2013, over 150,000 U.S. and allied troops from over 50 nations were deployed there. Many became casualties, including nearly 2,500 killed and over 20,000 wounded. During my four years commanding the NATO mission Enduring Freedom there, I wrote 1,700 letters of condolence to grieving families, about a third of them Europeans. It was a hard time for the U.S. military, which was caught in a classic counterinsurgency battle against an implacable and determined foe. Progress was hard to define, and the frequent changes of command at every level in the country hampered our efforts. We suffered from Taliban safe havens across the border in Pakistan, difficult supply chains and a tendency to emphasize positive developments while understating the challenges.

**DESPITE THE FRUSTRATION** and the casualties, we were able in time to turn the fight over to the marginally capable Afghan security forces and to withdraw the vast majority of our troops. We have brought home 90% of our troops, with only 13,000 or so still there. Hopefully the peace agreement will be successfully concluded and will hold thanks to Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad's tireless efforts. The tenuous next steps will be negotiations between the Afghan government of Ashraf Ghani and the Taliban. The objective from the U.S. perspective will be to bring home more of our troops, although ideally we would retain a cadre of around 5,000 Special Forces and trainers to help preserve the gains in democracy, human rights and gender equality that have been so painfully achieved.

We've seen this movie before, of course—in Vietnam. There it ended terribly, with all our forces withdrawn, funding cut to the Vietnamese army and helicopters lifting off the rooftop of the U.S. embassy in Saigon. Many of our local allies of decades were tortured and killed in "re-education" camps. It doesn't have to end that way again, but success will require a modicum of funding for the Afghan security forces; maintaining a "conditions-based" approach before withdrawing more troops; real dialogue between the Afghan government and the Taliban; continuing rights for women; and engaging our allies in keeping up support for the Afghans.

It will be hard to make this peace. I'd estimate the chances of a successful outcome—defined as the Taliban actually accepting a long-lasting peace—at roughly 50-50. But we need to recognize that there is no military solution here. We have spent much blood and treasure on this honorable cause, and it would be foolish to throw it away.

*Stavridis was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander of NATO*

**SHORT READS**

*Highlights from stories on* **time.com/ideas**

## Fighting for choice

Stephanie Toti, who argued the last abortion case before the Supreme Court, says the one now before the court is identical. The law at issue is **"an arbitrary exercise of state power that serves no purpose other than to restrict the pool of doctors who are lawfully able to provide abortion care in Louisiana,"** she writes.

## Wake-up call

The recent massacre in Hanau, Germany, should force the country to confront its far-right extremists, writes Can Dundar, former editor in chief of the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. But **"it's hard to see much evidence of Germany waking up to the deeper threat of white supremacism and racist violence."**

## Finding the right language

Kate Harding has been told she should call herself a survivor of sexual assault, not a victim, she writes in an essay for the new collection *Pretty Bitches*. **"Is it my story to tell or not? Is this a thing that happened to me, or a thing that happens to 1 in 6 American women?"** she asks.

WAKIL KOHSAR—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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THE RISK REPORT

## The coronavirus' blow to globalization

By Ian Bremmer

AS AMERICANS TRY to decide whether they're too worried about coronavirus or not worried enough, fears of recession have shifted Washington into action. Congress appears poised to approve billions of dollars in emergency funding. On March 3, the Federal Reserve chipped in with an emergency interest-rate cut of half a percentage point, the biggest such cut since the 2008 financial crisis. The Fed's hope is to limit economic damage inflicted by the virus by boosting business confidence and household spending, but the effect is to remind us that already historically low rates leave the Fed with limited ammunition. It's just one more source of anxiety about the virus.

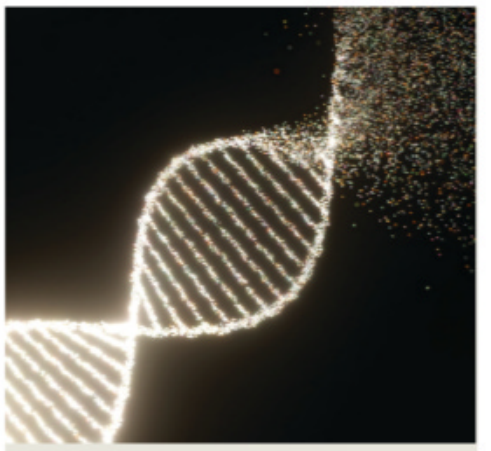
In reality, it is those who live in parts of the world where health systems are less developed that have greatest cause for concern—for both their personal health and the resilience of their economies. The first week of March saw the first confirmed coronavirus case in sub-Saharan Africa. Chinese workers were allowed to return to jobs in Africa after the Chinese New Year holiday, making further spread of the virus in Africa likely. In any pandemic, the worst-case scenario involves its spread into developing-world cities where huge numbers of people live, health care facilities are poor and millions lack the money to afford whatever care is available. There are also larger emerging-market countries that will take a huge economic hit as a result of lost tourism. But the impact of canceled travel would be much greater in Saudi Arabia, where the kingdom's first confirmed coronavirus case has closed Islam's holiest sites to foreigners. If Saudi authorities are forced to cancel the hajj, the annual pilgrimage of millions of Muslims to visit these sites, scheduled to begin in July, the impact would be dramatic. Other countries that depend on tourism revenue—particularly in Southeast Asia and Latin America—will face tough losses.

***The coronavirus may be remembered as a milestone on the road toward the end of the first phase of globalization***

**EVEN IN THE U.S.,** where this crisis has only begun to make an impact, the response may fall far short. There are some shortages of crucial drugs and medical equipment, in part because China remains a critical part of supply chains. Another worry: coronavirus has been swallowed into election-year politics. President Trump, anxious to protect the stock-market gains that he believes will boost his chances of re-election, has argued that Democrats are exaggerating the coronavirus threat. Critics of the President warn that Trump will lean heavily on the Fed for more cuts, less for the sake of U.S. economic resilience than for the President's political fortunes.

In coming years, the coronavirus outbreak may be remembered as a milestone moment on the road toward the end of the first phase of globalization. Over the past few decades, markets have opened, supply chains have gone global, middle classes have emerged, and new connections have been made. More recently, a backlash against the increasingly free flow of information, ideas, money, jobs and people has created extraordinary political pressures. The result has been tightened immigration rules, new barriers to trade and investment, a shortening of supply chains, a technological decoupling and a new emphasis on country-first politics.

Coronavirus has already forced travel restrictions, accusations between governments and a series of xenophobic attacks in multiple countries. Depending on the level of human and economic damage this virus inflicts around the world, coronavirus may one day be considered an important turning point for the entire global economy. ◻



GETTY IMAGES

SCIENCE

## The limits of DNA testing

While the lion's share of DNA-testing companies cater to questions of ancestry, health, paternity and relatedness, much of the emerging consumer-genomics market falls into lifestyle and fitness categories. The claims, and the science used to back them up, are of varying quality, and they target and reinforce a deep-seated belief that if we peer closely enough, we'll be able to decipher nearly everything about ourselves from the ACGTs along the strands of the double helix of our DNA molecules. The landscape is confusing for the average consumer, and it can be hard to tell which genetic tests to take seriously. But tests that market "faux scientific authority" aren't just harmless entertainment, warns a 2019 paper by Eric Topol and Emily Spencer of Scripps Research Translational Institute; they threaten to diminish consumer confidence in the clinical genetic tests that doctors order to guide medical decisions.
*—Libby Copeland*

*Adapted from the new book* The Lost Family: How DNA Testing Is Upending Who We Are

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# Low rates are changing the rules of retirement

By Kevin Kelleher

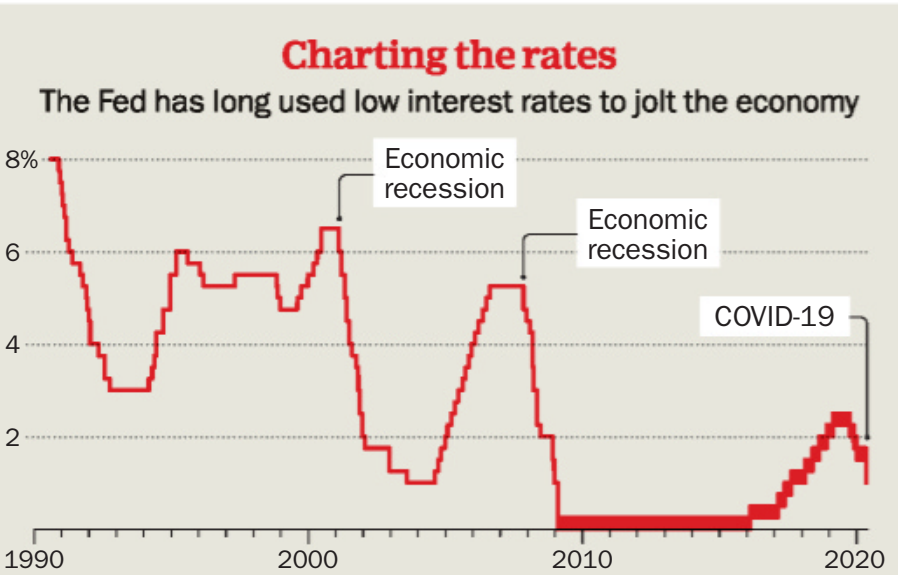
MILLIONS OF INVESTORS HAVE HEARD THE SAME TWO pieces of retirement advice: your portfolio should be split 60/40 between stocks and bonds, and you should plan on withdrawing no more than 4% of your savings annually after leaving work.

Following those rules may have been wise in the past, but experts say they don't hold up in today's world of staggeringly low interest rates. And with the Federal Reserve's March 3 announcement that it was cutting rates even further amid fears of the coronavirus outbreak's economic impact, it's clear that the situation isn't likely to change anytime soon. It's time, then, to rethink these old guidelines.

First, there's the 60/40 rule, which is meant to balance the long-term growth of stocks with the relative safety of bonds. But analysts warn that at low or even negative rates, bonds can't offer steady interest income that can offset stock declines during bear markets. Furthermore, this guideline came about when stocks and bonds were negatively correlated—returns from stocks went up as those from bonds went down, and vice versa. But lately they tend to move in tandem, so it makes less sense to pair them. Morgan Stanley recently gave a "sobering" outlook for 60/40 portfolios, predicting annual returns of 4.1% over the next decade, only half the rule's average performance. A Bank of America report said this asset mix "may have thrived in the 2000s and 2010s but won't survive the 2020s."

**Charting the rates**

The Fed has long used low interest rates to jolt the economy




SOURCE: FEDERAL RESERVE. NOTE: IN 2008, THE FEDERAL RESERVE ESTABLISHED A TARGET RANGE, RATHER THAN A TARGET RATE. THE THICKER LINE REPRESENTS THAT RANGE.

Ditching the 60/40 rule doesn't have to mean shifting money into today's volatile stock market. Alternatives include investment-grade U.S. corporate bonds or emerging market bonds, both of which can offer higher yields than U.S. Treasurys. "You can generate a greater level of yield if you diversify your fixed-income investments," says Tracie McMillion, head of global asset allocation strategy at the Wells Fargo Investment Institute. However, some experts say the 60/40 rule can still hold up for investors with a decade or more before retirement.

Meanwhile, the 4% rule is meant to give investors a sense of how much they need to save for retirement. A person following it who has put away $1 million, for example, should anticipate withdrawing no more than $40,000 a year, adjusting for inflation. A landmark study found investors following this rule had a 95% chance that their savings would last for 30 years.

But the 10-year U.S. Treasury yield, considered the global benchmark, was much higher when the study was conducted in the 1990s, at around 5% to 6%. Following the Fed's rate cuts, it dropped below 1% for the first time ever. Rates that low, plus lengthening U.S. life expectancies, mean that modern investors following the 4% rule have a 1-in-3 chance of running out of money. "It's really tough right now," says Wade Pfau, a professor at the American College of Financial Services. He says today's investors should expect to withdraw no more than 3% a year in retirement. With inflation running near 2.5%, that leaves very little in real returns.

***'These rules are simple and therefore popular, but perhaps overly simplistic.'***

**ANIL SURI,** Bank of America

**SOME EXPERTS SAY** it's wise to avoid catchall retirement advice in the first place. "These rules are simple and therefore popular, but perhaps overly simplistic," says Anil Suri, a managing director at Bank of America's investment solutions group. Instead, investors should create a personalized financial plan and keep it updated as market forces change.

For investors who find they are falling behind, there are several ways to catch up, though none are easy. They can choose to work longer, which adds to earnings and shortens retirement. They can spend less. Or they can seek out higher returns through riskier assets. The last option may seem appealing, but it carries the risk of losing even more should global stock markets plummet.

To guard against a potential downturn, McMillion says investors should keep 12 to 18 months' worth of expenses in cash. Pfau also suggests supplementing underperforming bonds with investments in annuities, which can guarantee steady lifetime income but can involve complex structures and fees.

The shocking effect that years of low interest rates are having on retirement portfolios may wind up being just the wake-up call investors need. After a decade of economic growth, many have lapsed into a complacent "set it and forget it" mentality. But while on the road to retirement, it's never a good idea to fall asleep at the wheel. ◻

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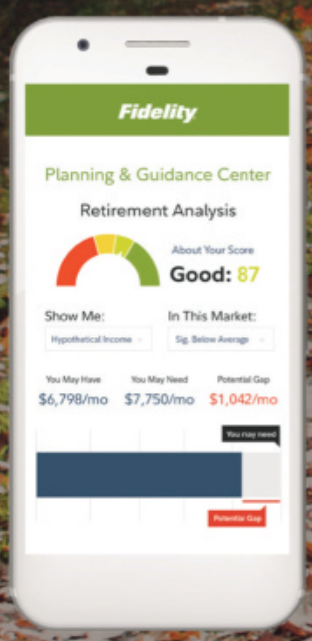


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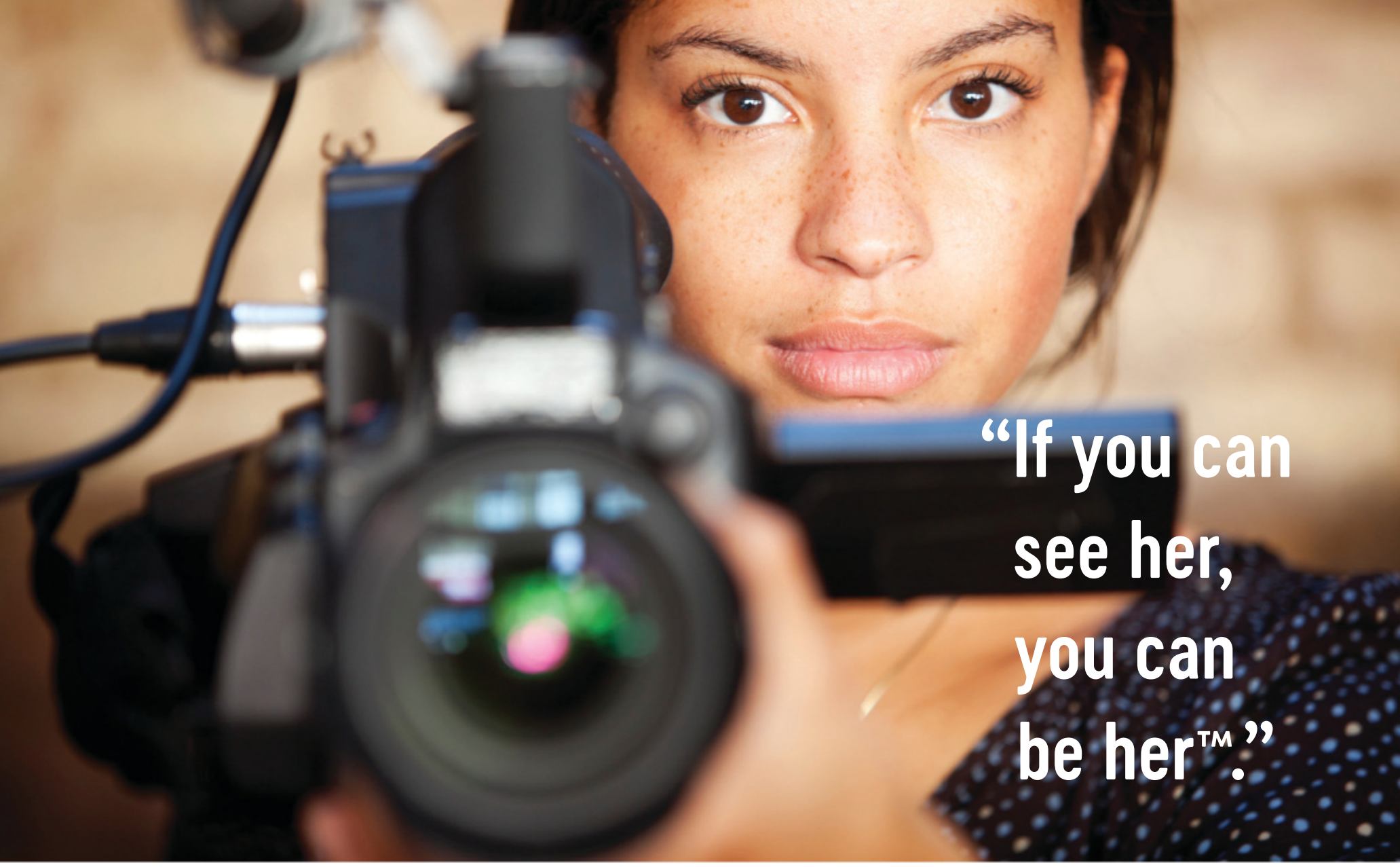


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# 100 WOMEN OF THE YEAR

## A Century Redefined

BY NANCY GIBBS

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY NEIL JAMIESON FOR TIME

THROUGHOUT ITS HISTORY, EDITORS OF *TIME* AIMED THEIR curiosity at those who broke free of gravity. Week after week, year after year, the magazine featured an individual on the cover, often from Washington but also from Wall Street or Hollywood, from foreign palaces and humming factories, all outstanding and almost always men. The "great man theory of history," so aligned with the American gospel of bootstraps and bravado, meant that power boiled down to biography, and to be on the cover of TIME meant that you had, literally, made big news.

I wonder how different those weekly assessments would have been had there been any women in the room where they were made. It would be many decades before TIME's leadership included many women, 90 years before a woman ran the whole thing. Likewise in Congress and courtrooms and corner offices and ivory towers, it was largely men who were writing the first draft of history, deciding what mattered, and who mattered, and why. So now that we are marking anniversaries, it was an irresistible exercise to go back and look again, at different ways of wielding power, and the different results derived. Women were wielding soft power long before the concept was defined. On the 100th anniversary of women's suffrage, TIME's editors and collaborators revisited each year since 1920, looking for women whose reach transcended their time. Their influence in public and private life was not always positive; part of this exercise is acknowledging failures and blind spots as well as genius and vision.

There were always women who wore the crown, literal or not: Queen Soraya Tarzi of Afghanistan or Queen Elizabeth II of England, global stateswomen like Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher, Corazon Aquino. But it is interesting that the first woman to appear on the cover of TIME, in the summer of 1923, was an Italian actor named Eleonora Duse, who had announced that she would come out of retirement to tour the U.S. "Her art rises to supremacy through her magnificent repression," TIME wrote, "her submersion of personality in her part." Honor and glory through "magnificent repression"—a parable of herstory.

Some art forms are more subversive than others, telling stories on the surface with countless layers beneath. From a hardscrabble childhood in Chattanooga, Tenn., the great blues artist Bessie Smith made her way from street busker to singer to such success that she traveled in a custom railcar. She recorded "Downhearted Blues" in 1923, which went on to sell nearly 800,000 copies within the year and eventually made Smith the highest-paid black entertainer of her era. She sang of prison and betrayal and capital punishment, of poverty and pain and the complex loves of an openly bisexual woman in the '20s. How do we measure that influence on generations of African-American protest music? Or the impact of the indelible dance disrupter Martha Graham, whom TIME would name "Dancer of the Century" in 1998 but whose concert ensemble's debut was called *Heretic*. Or photographer Dorothea Lange, who started out shooting portraits of the privileged but whose eye gave us the faces of poverty and pride during the Depression:

"You will find it hard to forget this material of human erosion," one reviewer wrote of her incomparable curation of calamity.

**MANY OF THE WOMEN** on this list exercised their influence at the margins, in defense of the marginalized. Recy Taylor, victim of a brutal rape by a gang of white men in 1944, defied intimidation and insisted the attackers be prosecuted. Her example emboldened civil rights leaders who followed, including fearless bus riders like Rosa Parks and Claudette Colvin. The Mirabal sisters were assassinated in 1960 for their protests against Dominican strongman Rafael Trujillo. Dolores Huerta co-founded the United Farm Workers union and conceived the boycott that became the model for a movement. Marsha P. Johnson helped lead the fight for LGBT rights, Judith Heumann for disability rights. As individuals, as activists, they took substantial personal risks; as models, they showed people whose stories weren't being told and whose lives weren't being valued that dignity is not the monopoly of the dominant.

Among these women are those whose contributions are infinitely more recognizable than they themselves ever were. To this day, educators struggle to close the confidence gap that discourages girls from going into science; Melinda Gates has made this a core of her mission. Would it be any easier if more people knew the stories, grasped the possibilities represented by women like Rosalind Franklin, whose role in the identification of the DNA double helix was eclipsed by Watson and Crick; or Grace Hopper, the mathematician/Navy admiral/computer wizard; or Tu Youyou, who worked on a cure for malaria; or Françoise Barré-Sinoussi, who helped discover the retrovirus that came to be known as AIDS? Hollywood has started to color in some of those empty spaces, greenlighting movies about women like American spy Virginia Hall. But particularly in science, "if you can't see it, you can't be it," so these are stories whose illumination is long overdue.

Finally, there are women who exercised moral leadership, doing hard things against all self-interest. Margaret Chase Smith staring down Joe McCarthy; or Anna Walentynowicz organizing her fellow shipyard workers in communist Poland; Wangari Maathai, fighting for both Kenya's land and its democracy, reminding people everywhere that invisible people who do the right thing can change … everything.

If power is a muscle, driving progress through strength, influence is a magnet, drawing people toward possibilities they might otherwise never have imagined. The women profiled here enlarged their world and explored new ones, broke free of convention and constraint, welcomed into community the lost and left behind. They were the different drummers, to whose beat a century marched without always even knowing it. So this special project is an act of discovery, and rediscovery, of the possibilities that come when we look and listen differently to the world these women made.

*Gibbs, a former editor-in-chief at TIME, is the director of Harvard Kennedy School's Shorenstein Center*

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## WHO WE ARE

BY SUSAN STRYKER

# WHAT IS A WOMAN?

An "adult human female," according to a seemingly commonsense slogan seen on the T-shirts and laptop stickers of those who oppose the idea that transgender women are women. They argue that gender itself is a false ideology masking the truth of biological sex difference. But "woman" is complicated in ways that have little to do with transgender issues. Only the delusional would deny biological differences between people, but only the uninformed can maintain that what the body means, and how it relates to social category, doesn't vary between cultures and over time.

The Caribbean novelist and intellectual Sylvia Wynter opposes the "biocentric" ordering of the world that emerged from European colonialism; the transatlantic slave trade depended, after all, on the idea that certain biological differences meant a person could be treated like property. The black 19th century freedom fighter Sojourner Truth's famous, perhaps apocryphal, question "Ain't I a woman?" challenged her white sisters in the struggle for the abolition of slavery to recognize that what counted as "woman" counted, in part, on race. A century later in the Jim Crow South, segregated public-toilet doors marked MEN, WOMEN and COLORED underscored how the legal recognition of a gender binary has been a privilege of whiteness. In 1949, the French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir asserted that "one is not born, but rather becomes a woman"; in doing so, she grasped how the raw facts of our bodies at birth are operated on by social processes to transform each of us into the people we become.

Who gets "womaned" by society and subjected to misogynistic discrimination as a result, and who answers yes to the question, posed publicly or in the innermost realms of thought, as to whether they're a woman or not? The intersection of those two conditions arguably marks the status of belonging to womanhood in ways that do not depend on reproductive biology.

The "What is a woman?" question can stretch the bounds and bonds of womanhood in messy yet vital directions—as in the case of Marsha P. Johnson, a feminine gender-nonconforming person who graced the streets of New York City as a self-proclaimed "street transvestite action revolutionary" for decades. She's now hailed as a transgender icon, but Johnson fits awkwardly with contemporary ideas of trans womanhood, let alone womanhood more generally. She called herself "gay" at a time when the word *transgender* was not common, and lived as a man from time to time. She used she/her pronouns but thought of herself as a "queen," not as a "woman," or even a "transsexual."

While some people now embrace a rainbow of possibilities between the familiar pink and blue, others hew even tighter to a biological fundamentalism. Those willing to recognize new forms of gender feel anxious about misgendering others, while those who claim superior access to the truth are prepared to impose that truth upon those who disagree. What's right—even what's real—in such circumstances is not always self-evident. Labeling others contrary to how they have labeled themselves is an ethically loaded act, but "woman" remains a useful shorthand for the entanglement of femininity and social status regardless of biology—not as an identity, but as the name for an imagined community that honors the female, enacts the feminine and exceeds the limitations of a sexist society.

Why can't womanhood jettison its biocentrism to expand its political horizons and include people like Marsha P. Johnson? After all, it's we the living who say collectively what "woman" means, hopefully in ways that center the voices and experiences of all those who live as women, across all our other differences.

*Stryker is a presidential fellow and visiting professor of women's, gender and sexuality studies at Yale University*

# She did

- Win Olympic gold
- Win the Nobel Peace Prize
- Pioneer scientific research
- Set world records
- Win the right to vote
- Transform the culture
- Challenge the status quo
- Lead cities, states, and nations
- Revolutionize the arts
- Break the color barrier
- Create programming languages
- Fight for equal pay
- Push the limits of endurance
- Send astronauts to the moon
- Climb the corporate ladder
- Shatter the glass ceiling
- Change the world

# so we all can.

Everyone can make a difference.
But it takes a certain “can-do” spirit
to push forward, defy convention,
and change the world for all who follow.

smartsheet

LUCY BURNS

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

ALICE PAUL

IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT

ZITKALA-SA

1920 | VOTES FOR WOMEN

# THE SUFFRAGISTS

BY ERIN BLAKEMORE

IT WAS THE CULMINATION OF GENERAtions of activism, and Carrie Chapman Catt, who had devoted three decades to the suffrage struggle, was among the crowds that celebrated the ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920. "Women have suffered agony of soul which you never can comprehend, that you and your daughters might inherit political freedom," Catt told a victorious throng. "Prize it!"

Among those agonies was an ongoing debate about how women should go about securing those rights—and the ongoing disenfranchisement of women of color.

Catt opted for pragmatism and politics, lobbying on a state level and in the halls of Congress. Along the way, she tussled with Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, militant suffragists who preferred a more dramatic approach. Paul and Burns organized public parades and staged a groundbreaking, yearslong White House picket with banners that implored President Woodrow Wilson to act. The "Silent Sentinels" endured arrests and imprisonment in a squalid workhouse where they were brutalized and force-fed. Which approach was more effective? "Every movement for social change needs both," says suffrage historian Johanna Neuman.

For women of color, though, the 1920 victory did not guarantee voting rights. Despite their fervent participation in the suffrage struggle, their voting rights were secured only with the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Native Americans like Zitkala-Sa, a member of the Yankton Dakota Sioux, were not considered U.S. citizens and were not qualified to vote. "Americanize the first American!" she urged in 1921. Even after the Indian Citizenship Act she had lobbied for became law in 1924, it did not guarantee the vote. Zitkala-Sa agitated for full voting rights for the rest of her life. Only in 1962, decades after her death, did Native Americans gain the right to vote from every state legislature.

The 19th Amendment was also bittersweet to black suffragist Ida B. Wells-Barnett. "With no sacredness of the ballot there can be no sacredness of human life itself," she wrote in 1910, tying women's right to vote to Jim Crow disenfranchisement of black men. Despite her contributions to the movement, Wells-Barnett was snubbed by white activists. At a 1913 suffrage parade, she was told to march in the rear. She rebelled, claiming a spot alongside white participants instead.

"This part of the suffrage story is a tragic one," says Wells-Barnett biographer Paula Giddings. "It's time to re-examine the movement and its flaws so we won't repeat them again."

*Blakemore is a journalist and the author of* The Heroine's Bookshelf

SUFFRAGISTS PROTEST AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN CHICAGO IN JUNE 1920

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1921

## Emmy Noether

*Mathematical genius*

**"Smart" didn't do Emmy Noether justice: Albert Einstein called her a "creative mathematical genius." The German-born Noether altered algebra—notably with her 1921 paper *Theory of Ideals in Ring Domains*—and her proofs about conservation of energy resolved a quirk in Einstein's general theory of relativity. Even so, as a woman, Noether had to fight for a professorship. When she did get one, at the University of Göttingen, she was paid minimally, and in 1933, with Germany under Nazi rule, she and other Jewish professors were dismissed. Exiled to the U.S., she kept teaching until her death in 1935. Even now, the world still learns from Noether, whose abstract principles are fundamental to modern particle physics. —*Emily Barone***

1922

## Xiang Jingyu

*China's revolutionary symbol*

Xiang Jingyu rejected traditional gender roles, instead committing herself to the cause of the Chinese Communist Party. Some records suggest Xiang became the first director of the Chinese Communist Women's Bureau in 1922, as well as the first female member of the CCP Central Committee, though official party histories are unclear on her precise role. Undeniably she was one of the foremost revolutionaries of her time, advocating for women's education rights and organizing mass labor strikes. After her execution in 1928, she was better remembered as a martyr than an activist, but her vision of women's liberation impacted those around her—including Mao Zedong, who later proclaimed that "women hold up half the sky." —*Suyin Haynes*

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1923 | BLUES EMPRESS

# *BESSIE SMITH*

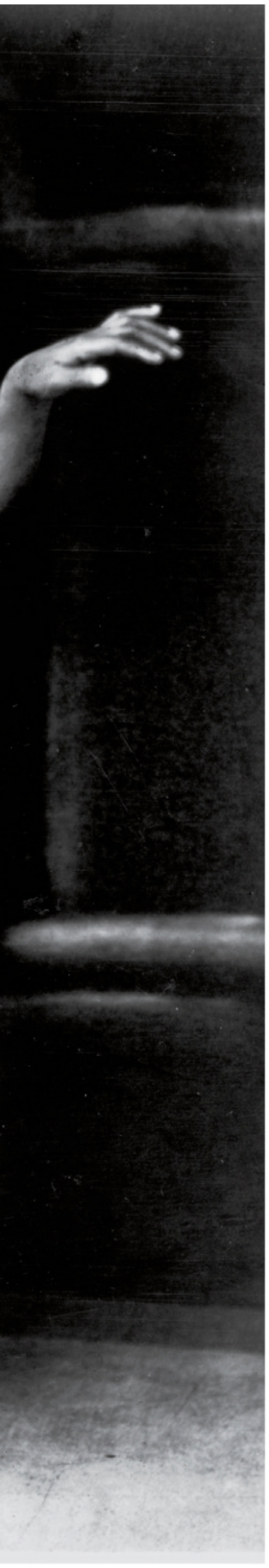
BY MJ RODRIGUEZ

BESSIE SMITH WAS BORN INTO TRAGEDY. Her parents died by the time she was 9, leaving her in the care of older siblings. A gifted singer, Smith was forever changed—perhaps even saved—by her rare talent on the stage and insatiable drive off it. Years of busking and performing in traveling vaudeville shows led to a deal with Columbia Records in 1923 and a signature recording, "Downhearted Blues," which sold nearly 800,000 copies.

Smith's song became an instant classic, beloved by contemporary audiences and revered by the generations that followed. It helped make Smith the highest-paid black entertainer of the time and earned her the moniker Empress of the Blues. But Smith was set apart by more than her success. Often called "rough," she was not only African American and curvy, but also an openly bisexual artist who channeled her early struggles into her music. Her lyrics—defined by her sass and biting wit—addressed poverty and conflict, imploring working-class women to be up-front about their sexual desires.

For me, as an African-American woman who is trans—part of two communities that are most marginalized—Smith's life shows the importance of staying true to yourself, even when the hardest of obstacles are in your way.

*Rodriguez is an actor on FX's* Pose



1924

## Coco Chanel

*Refashioning style*

**Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel, born in 1883, lived several lives before her death in 1971. She was the shrewd businesswoman who developed one of the world's most famous perfumes, only to lose control of the company that produced it. She presaged the era of logomania with her own symbol, two linked C's. Opportunistically, she got through World War II by consorting with Nazis.**

**But any woman today who loves elegant yet comfortable clothes owes her a debt. Chanel was one of the first designers to use jersey fabric in fashionable day wear—dresses and suits and pleated skirts—that moved the dial away from restrictive corsets and useless frills. And because Chanel herself loved to borrow men's clothes, in 1924, she designed a woman's suit made of supple Scottish tweed, so softly and ingeniously tailored that it was a joy to wear. To this day, the Chanel suit is a model marriage of practicality and beauty. The woman who brought it into the world knew that to move forward, you first had to be able to move.**
***—Stephanie Zacharek***

1925

## Margaret Sanger

*A woman's choice*

In March 1925, one of America's most famous women took the stage at an international birth control conference to argue for "the health and happiness of the Unborn Child." Though she joked about a civil service exam for would-be parents, Margaret Sanger made a case for birth control as an alternative to both abortion and "enforced, enslaved maternity."

Already, Sanger had defied laws that rendered both contraception, and talking about birth control, crimes. She became a subject of gossip and outrage for her public clinic and campaign to make birth control a topic of conversation.

Sanger's association with the eugenics movement would ultimately compromise her reputation. She argued that birth control could be used to weed out "defective" babies. It was part of an ongoing alignment with those who thought birth control could be used to breed more desirable traits into the population—a move possibly informed by her desperation to popularize contraception.

Historians still tussle over Sanger's complicated legacy. What isn't at issue is her influence: Sanger founded the predecessor to Planned Parenthood, and by helping legalize birth control, she helped women gain control over their bodies and futures. *—Erin Blakemore*

‹ 1926

## Aimee Semple McPherson

*A ministry for the masses*

Thousands flocked to her memorial service. Millions listened in shock as it was reported: "Sister" Aimee Semple McPherson, the nation's most famous evangelist of the era, it seemed, was dead.

A Pentecostal preacher with a knack for publicity, McPherson gained national fame for traveling the U.S. in a car painted with JESUS IS COMING SOON—GET READY, delivering passionate sermons and faith-healing demonstrations. Thanks to the new medium of radio, she preached in people's homes too. By 1926, she had founded a Bible college and established what would become one of the first megachurches, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel in Los Angeles, which has branches around the world today. Her sermons regularly drew crowds of as many as 30,000.

A month after her reported death in May 1926, McPherson reappeared, claiming she'd been abducted. News of her "resurrection" created media madness. Whether the alleged kidnapping was a publicity stunt is up for debate. What isn't is that she blazed a trail for other religious figures. Her groundbreaking mix of cutting-edge media and old-time religion set the stage for televangelism and religious celebrity in the decades to come. *—Erin Blakemore*

1927 ›

## Queen Soraya Tarzi

*Progressive royal*

**The daughter of a liberal Afghan intellectual, Queen Soraya Tarzi was fond of breaking with tradition. As the first Queen Consort of Afghanistan and wife of King Amanullah Khan, she became one of the most powerful figures in the Middle East in the 1920s, and was known throughout the world for her progressive ideas. Tarzi and Khan worked closely together; in 1926 he declared, "I am your King, but the Minister of Education is my wife, your Queen."**

**In the face of opposition, the couple campaigned against polygamy and the veil, and practiced what they preached; Tarzi was known for tearing off her veil in public and instead wearing wide-brimmed hats with an attached veil. A fierce believer in women's rights and education, she opened the country's first school for girls, and along with her mother founded the country's first women's magazine in 1927, called *Ershad-I-Niswan*, or "Guidance for Women."**

**Saying that independence "belongs to all of us," Tarzi forcefully called for women to "take their part" in nation building. A second wave of reform in Afghanistan in the 1970s would echo Tarzi's ideas from 50 years before, with a rise in women's education and representation in political life, and the raising of the marriage age. *—Suyin Haynes***

MCPHERSON: BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES; TARZI: RYKOFF COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

SK-II

WORLDWIDE PARTNER

SIMONE BILES

# IT DOESN'T MATTER WHAT OTHERS SAY. IT'S MY BODY AND IT DOES INCREDIBLE THINGS.

## BEAUTY IS #NOCOMPETITION

1928

## Anna May Wong

*Cinematic trailblazer*

**Long before Lucy Liu or Awkwafina spoke up about the lack of Asian representation in Hollywood, Anna May Wong was fighting the same unjust structures. The native Angeleno, born to second-generation Chinese-American parents, became a silent-film star in the 1920s on the strength of her expressiveness. But because of miscegenation laws that prevented interracial couples onscreen—and rampant yellowface practices—her opportunities were mostly limited to stereotypes like the rejected other woman or the villainous dragon lady.**

**After years of speaking up against racism, Wong moved in 1928 to Europe, where she found audiences were more receptive to her talent, regardless of her race. She starred in films, plays and operettas, and became a global fashion icon. She later returned to the U.S., where she continued to fight discrimination and, in the 1950s, became the first Asian American to land a leading role in a U.S. TV series, *The Gallery of Madame Liu-Tsong*. With her ingenuity and resilience, she set a template for generations of Asian Americans to pursue their own artistry and stardom. —*Andrew R. Chow***

1929

## Virginia Woolf

*Modern woman*

In 1928, addressing distinguished female students at the University of Cambridge, novelist and critic Virginia Woolf declared, "A woman must have money and a room of one's own if she is to write fiction." Replace "write fiction" with any creative, intellectual or political pursuit, and in a sentence, Woolf had summed up millennia of inequality. In her 1929 extended essay "A Room of One's Own," Woolf played with both fiction and nonfiction, building on the themes of her lectures. She invented the indelible figure of Judith Shakespeare, sister of William, who had equal talent but would never become a world-famous playwright because she was barred from education and relegated to the home.

Suddenly, readers imagined a world history filled with the ghosts of gifted women and the works they never had the opportunity to create. Before 1929, Woolf had established herself with *Mrs. Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse* as one of the boldest novelists of the 20th century, and then when "A Room of One's Own" was published to both celebration and outrage, she became a political visionary too. Her essays were—and still are—a rallying call to women around the world. —*Lucas Wittmann*

WONG: ARCHIVIO GBB/CONTRASTO/REDUX; WOOLF: MONDADORI/GETTY IMAGES

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CEO
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BUSINESS EDUCATION | NETWORKING | ACCESS TO CAPITAL

1930

## Martha Graham

*The deity of modern dance*

**In 1930, choreographer Martha Graham debuted *Lamentation,* a wrenching solo piece in which a shrouded and self-bound figure twists and writhes, contracted into her pain and the search for its release. Created in contrast to male-dominated Russian and European schools—and the decorative roles they gave female dancers—Graham's work laid the foundation for contemporary dance. Her technique uses the power of the pelvis, controlled breath and weighted movement to embody a ritualized way of inhabiting the feminine form. In reflecting visceral elements of universal human experience and collective memory, Graham asks us to move not just our bodies, but our souls.**

***—Marisa Tomei***

***Tomei is an Oscar-winning actor***

1931

## Maria Montessori

*Rethinking the classroom*

In thousands of classrooms around the world, as children work independently to solve math problems with beads and learn the alphabet with sandpaper letters, their activities can be traced back a century to Maria Montessori's radical educational philosophy.

One of the first female physicians in Italy, Montessori developed early-childhood teaching methods that made the student a respected collaborator and independent thinker, rather than the submissive pupils of yore. In 1931, she trained teachers through her Association Montessori Internationale and hosted Mahatma Gandhi, who supported the use of her methods in India. Her approach has educated generations.

*—Katie Reilly*

DIDRIKSON, FAR RIGHT, WON THE 80-M HURDLES AT THE 1932 LOS ANGELES OLYMPICS

1932 | SYMBOL OF STRENGTH

# *BABE DIDRIKSON*

BY SEAN GREGORY

NAMED THE GREATEST FEMALE ATHlete of the 20th century by the Associated Press, Mildred "Babe" Didrikson, a tough-talking Texan, excelled in a stunning number of sports: track, golf, basketball, baseball, tennis, swimming, bowling and billiards among them. She was once asked if there was any sport she didn't play. "Yeah, dolls," she replied.

Born into a Norwegian immigrant family in 1911, Didrikson caught the eye of a Dallas insurance company with her basketball skills when she was 18; she quit school to join the firm's Amateur Athletic Union hoops team. She was named an All-American from 1930 to 1932. In '32, she was the sole representative of the Employers Casualty team at the U.S. amateur track-and-field championships; over the course of three hours, she finished first in five different events—broad jump, shot put, javelin, 80-m hurdles and baseball throw—and tied for first in the high jump, singlehandedly outscoring every other team at the event. "Implausible is the adjective which best befits the Babe," the New York *Times* later declared.

At the Olympics in Los Angeles a few weeks later, she became the only female Olympian ever to collect individual medals in a running, a throwing and a jumping event (the 80-m hurdles, javelin and high jump). That record still holds.

Almost overnight, Didrikson shot to global fame. By refusing to conform to early–20th century expectations of femininity, Didrikson showed that women more than belonged on the playing field. They too could break athletic barriers, just like the men.

And yet, her athletic opportunities proved sparse. "It would be much better if she and her ilk stayed at home, got themselves prettied up and waited for the phone to ring," one sports columnist wrote. Didrikson turned to vaudeville to make money. But even as she sang and played harmonica, she couldn't be kept from competition. In 1934, Didrikson took her talents to the golf course. Over the next two decades she won 82 tournaments—including an incredible 14 consecutive events in one stretch—and became a founding member of the LPGA. A year after being diagnosed with colon cancer in 1953, she won the U.S. Women's Open by a record 12 strokes.

A proud pioneer of what's now known as trash talk, she was unafraid to inform her competitors they were playing for second place. And how exactly did she launch those booming tee shots? "I just loosen my girdle," Didrikson said, "and let the ball have it."

1933 | ARCHITECT OF THE NEW DEAL

# *FRANCES PERKINS*

BY ALANA SEMUELS

PERKINS, BEHIND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AS HE SIGNS PART OF THE NEW DEAL INTO LAW ON JUNE 6, 1933

THERE WAS A TIME IN THE U.S. WHEN EMPLOYERS COULD pay workers as little as they wanted, kids toiled in sweatshops, and bosses could lock in employees to prevent them from taking breaks. Frances Perkins halted these practices, defending workers whose lives had become dangerous during the nation's rapid industrialization.

Perkins was having tea one afternoon in New York in 1911 when she witnessed the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire, where 146 workers died after being trapped in the burning building. Horrified, she pushed New York to pass early worker health and safety laws, first as an advocate and later as the state's industrial commissioner.

Her work made Perkins such a prominent voice for the working class that Franklin D. Roosevelt asked her in 1933 to serve as his Secretary of Labor. She accepted on the condition that he'd support her in establishing a safety net for workers. "Nothing like this has ever been done in the United States before," she told him, according to Kirstin Downey, author of a Perkins biography. "You know that, don't you?"

Perkins was the driving force behind the New Deal, the package of laws that protected average Americans during the Great Depression, and she implemented relief programs that paid unemployed men to work on public projects. She secured unemployment insurance and pensions for the elderly and financial assistance for the infirm in the Social Security Act of 1935; and established a minimum wage, maximum work hours and the eradication of child labor in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

Perkins served as Labor Secretary until Roosevelt's death in 1945. "I came to Washington," she once said, "to work for God; FDR; and the millions of forgotten, plain common workingmen."

1934

## Mary McLeod Bethune

*Equalizing education*

**Mary McLeod Bethune's résumé was already peppered with superlatives and *only*s, but in 1934 the civil rights activist was a woman on the brink of the most political power wielded by an African-American woman to date. By continually lobbying the federal government to tend to the needs of African Americans, she had already gained the ear of Presidents Coolidge and Hoover. As the nation reeled during the Great Depression, she pushed Roosevelt to pay attention to black Americans too.**

**Soon, the former teacher and women's group organizer would step into an official New Deal role as head of the National Youth Administration's Division of Negro Affairs and head of what would be known as FDR's "Black Cabinet," becoming the highest-ranking African-American woman in government and the first ever to head a federal department. During her government tenure, she fought for integration and against segregation, discrimination and lynching. As a colleague once said, "No one can do what Mrs. Bethune could do."**
***—Erin Blakemore***

PERKINS: AP; BETHUNE: SCURLOCK STUDIO RECORDS, ARCHIVES CENTER, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

# WOMAN LED: THEN AND NOW

Save the Children.

In 1919, our founder Eglantyne Jebb declared that every girl and every boy had **equal rights** – no matter who they were or where they lived. Yet, here we are in 2020, and around the world girls still face discrimination. Save the Children puts gender equality at the heart of everything we do. Under the leadership of CEO Janti Soeripto, we work to eliminate gender bias and discrimination, empower girls and challenge harmful gender norms, so that all children have an equal chance to achieve their full potential. Join us.

savethechildren.org/girls

#WeSeeEqual

CHANGING A LIFE LASTS A LIFETIME

# *'I WANT TO DO IT BECAUSE I WANT TO DO IT. WOMEN MUST TRY TO DO THINGS AS MEN HAVE TRIED.'*

## Amelia Earhart

**1935** | INTREPID AVIATOR

In the days before Amelia Earhart settled into her cockpit on Jan. 11, 1935, ready to fly 2,400 miles across the Pacific from Hawaii to California, an open letter urged her to stand down, noting that 10 others had died trying. She pressed on, becoming the first person—woman or man—to perform the feat. Her grit and derring-do, on full display two years before her notorious disappearance, forever expanded expectations for just how far the fairer sex could go. *—Katy Steinmetz*

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1936 PERSON OF THE YEAR

## Wallis Simpson

*Royal disrupter*

**When Wallis Simpson and Edward, Prince of Wales, fell in love, the course of the monarchy was altered irrevocably. The British establishment couldn't sanction the heir to the throne marrying a divorced American; one official called her a woman of "limitless ambition."**

**And so in 1936, Edward abdicated the throne he had just inherited for the woman he loved. TIME named Simpson its first Woman of the Year, for becoming "the most-talked-about, written-about, headlined and interest-compelling person in the world." This year, as another American struggled to navigate the royal family with her husband, Simpson reminds us that when modernity clashes with tradition, nobody emerges unscathed.**

***—Suyin Haynes***

1937 PERSON OF THE YEAR

## Soong Mei-ling

*Formidable patriot*

Soong Mei-ling is as much an architect of modern China as any communist revolutionary. The Wellesley-educated wife of Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek was instrumental in winning U.S. support for China's war against Japan (1937–1945), becoming the first Chinese national to address both houses of Congress. At home, she was seen as power-hungry but, through her New Life Movement, helped foster an upright Chinese identity in opposition to supposed Western decadence, prefiguring some of the ideological zealotry of the Cultural Revolution. In 1937, TIME named her Person of the Year alongside her husband, declaring, "No woman in the West holds so great a position as Mme Chiang Kai-shek holds in China."

*—Charlie Campbell*

1938 | SELF-DEFINING ARTIST

## *FRIDA KAHLO*

BY ANDREW R. CHOW

FRIDA KAHLO WAS OFTEN SEEN through the lens of her more famous husband. In 1938, a press release for her first solo exhibit initially described her as the "wife of Diego Rivera" before conceding that "she proves herself a significant and intriguing painter in her own right."

These days, it's more common for Rivera to be viewed in her shadow. And Kahlo's work in 1938 turned out to be instrumental in building her legacy, as she came to prominence around the world for her vivid and surreal self-portraits: in New York City, where that solo show was met with excitement and curiosity; in her hometown of Mexico City, where she sold her first major painting; and in Paris, where a work she painted that year would soon make her the first 20th century Mexican artist to have a painting, The Frame, bought by the Louvre, beating even her husband to that milestone.

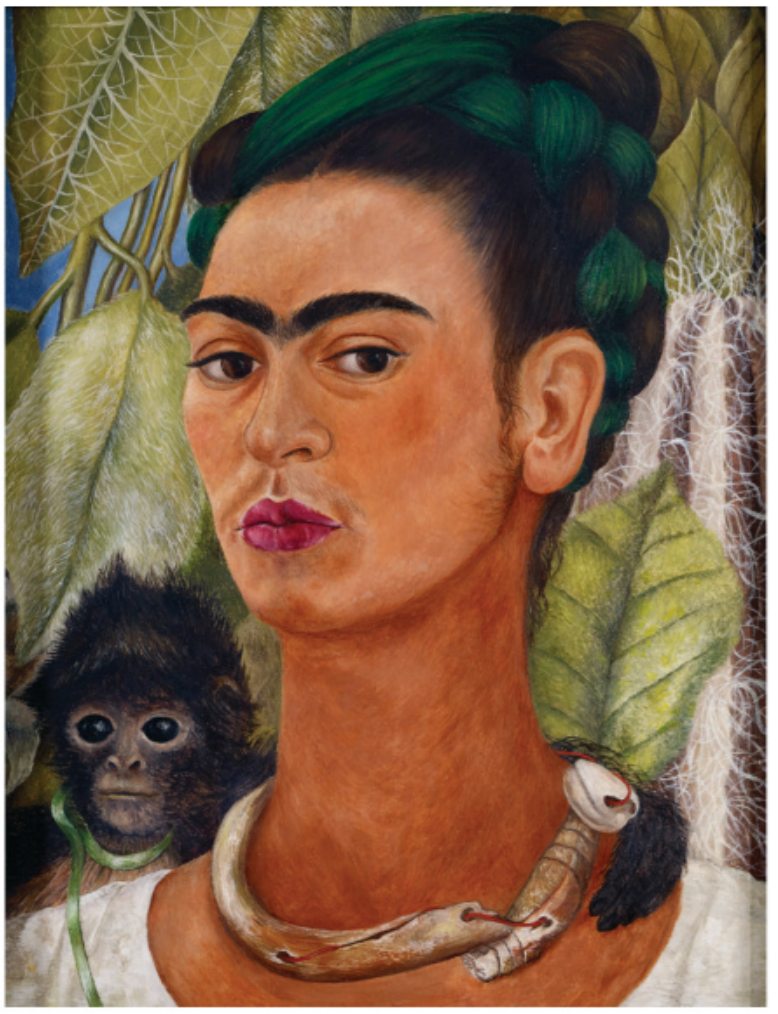
But the struggle was far from over for Kahlo, who lived a tumultuous life beset by hardship and heartbreak. She contracted polio as a child. At 18, she was the victim of a horrific bus accident that left her in debilitating pain. She miscarried several times; her relationship with Rivera was vexed by infidelity.

Kahlo channeled this turmoil into breathtaking, iconoclastic art. She depicted taboo topics like abortion, miscarriage and breastfeeding; she accentuated her unibrow and mustache in defiance of gender norms. At a time when indigenous art wasn't taken seriously, she incorporated Mexican folkloric touchstones into both her paintings and her unique fashion sensibility. She railed against capitalism and imperialism. Through her deconstruction of long-held beliefs about artistry—and her ability to express both torturous pain and unfettered joy in her art—she remains one of the most enduring artists of the 20th century.

THE FRAME, *1938*

ITZCUINTLI DOG WITH ME, *c.*

SIMPSON: HISTORIA/SHUTTERSTOCK; SOONG: AP PHOTO; KAHLO: THE FRAME, 1938: MUSÉE NATIONAL D'ART MODERNE, CENTRE GEORGES POMPIDOU, PARIS. PHOTO: JEAN-CLAUDE PLANCHET. © CNAC/MNAM/DIST. RMN–GRAND PALAIS/ART RESOURCE, NY. 1937: DIGITAL IMAGE © MUSEUM OF MODERN ART/LICENSED BY SCALA/ART RESOURCE, NY; © ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NY; ALL KAHLO WORKS: © 2020 BANCO DE MÉXICO DIEGO RIVERA FRIDA KAHLO MUSEUMS TRUST, MEXICO, D.F./ARTISTS RIGHTS



SELF-PORTRAIT WITH MONKEY, *1938*

*1938*

FULANG-CHANG AND I, *1937*

HOLIDAY, PERFORMING AT THE APOLLO THEATER IN 1937

1939

## Billie Holiday

***Singular voice***

Billie Holiday knew the dangerous power of "Strange Fruit" when she first sang it at a Manhattan club in 1939. As written by the schoolteacher Abel Meeropol, with its images of black bodies hanging like bruised fruit, the ballad was already a vivid protest of lynching. But filtered through Holiday's smoky vocals, it took on an even greater urgency. It was so incendiary that Columbia Records refused to let her record it, some radio stations banned it, and federal agents tried to stop her from singing it.

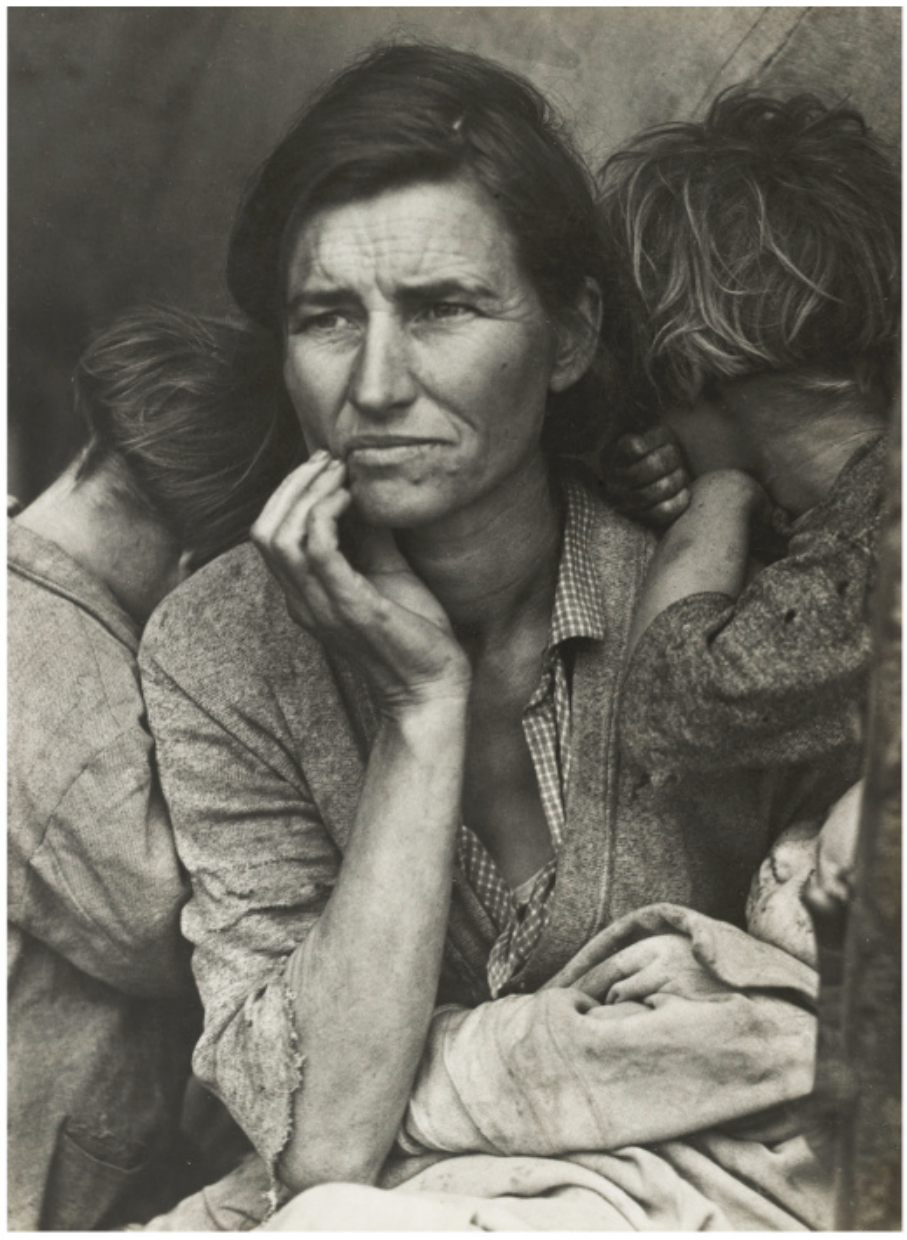
And the song, released on an alternative label, did strike a nerve—starting a conversation about racially motivated hate crimes and giving Holiday a national audience. Her rise was surprising in a musical era dominated by belters: Holiday, by contrast, had a small range and a conversational singing style that often dragged behind the beat. But it was this approach that unlocked a personal subtext in songs, whether it be deep pathos or low-burning sultriness.

While Holiday earned her way into venues like Carnegie Hall, she was plagued by one challenge after the next: drug addictions, domestic abuse, racist audiences. Thanks in part to her outspokenness about inequality and racism, federal agents hunted her for her entire life. They jailed her in 1947 and revoked her cabaret card on the grounds that her songs might harm the "morals" of the public.

In 1956, Holiday published her autobiography, *Lady Sings the Blues,* which biographer John Szwed tells TIME is "probably the most damning document of America ever produced." Three years later, she died, bitter and broke. But her legacy would only grow. Twenty-six years after Holiday's rendition, at the height of the civil rights movement, Nina Simone would record a cover of "Strange Fruit" that Kanye West would sample 48 years after that. Through it all, Holiday's version retains its ummatched potency. —*A.R.C.*

© ARS, NY; SELF-PORTRAIT WITH MONKEY, 1938: ALBRIGHT-KNOX ART GALLERY /ART RESOURCE, NY. © ARS, NY; ITZCUINTLI DOG WITH ME, C. 1938: PRIVATE COLLECTION, USA. PHOTO: ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, NY. © ARS, NY; FULANG-CHANG AND I, SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK; HOLIDAY: MPTVIMAGES

LANGE, ABOVE, PHOTOGRAPHED *MIGRANT MOTHER,* WHICH HAS BECOME THE MOST ICONIC PICTURE OF THE DEPRESSION



MIGRANT MOTHER, *1936*

1940 | DOCUMENTING AMERICA

# *DOROTHEA LANGE*

BY ELIZA BERMAN

DOROTHEA LANGE WAS EAGER TO GO HOME. AFTER A MONTH in the field in central California in March 1936, the photographer drove 20 miles past a sign that read PEA-PICKERS CAMP before a nagging feeling caused her to turn back. The decision resulted in a picture of 32-year-old Florence Owens Thompson and three of her children, which came to be known as *Migrant Mother.* It remains the most indelible image of the Great Depression, and is now one of the most famous photographs ever made. The photo prompted the government to respond to prevent starvation at the camp, and it was shown at the Museum of Modern Art's first photography exhibition, in 1940.

1940, incidentally, was also the year Lange was fired from her position with the Farm Security Administration for being "uncooperative." (For one thing, she refused to follow orders to train her lens primarily on white Americans, whose suffering, it was assumed, would engender more support.) She proved incorrigible: two years later, on assignment for the War Relocation Authority to photograph Japanese-American internment camps, she made images that were searingly critical of the policy, which were suppressed until after the war.

Lange was uniquely suited to wield her camera as a tool to inspire social change by putting a human face on suffering—work she carried on for three decades following the creation of her best-known image. Contracting polio as a child had left her with a limp that helped her relate to outsiders; early work as a portrait photographer trained her to capture subjects' dignity. Since her death in 1965, her work has been appreciated as much for its value as art as for its documentation of history, though Lange disapproved of her photos' being divorced from context, preferring captions that captured her subjects' voices. As she put it in an interview not long before her death, "My powers of observation are fairly good, and I have used them."

LANGE, FROM LEFT: RONDAL PARTRIDGE ARCHIVE, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; FAWCETT: FAWCETT FAMILY/ANTHONY CROWLEY/CAMERA PRESS/REDUX; GIES: ALAMY; REIK: HASHOMER HATZAIR ARCHIVES, MORESHET COLLECTION; SCHAFT: NATIONAL

1941

## Jane Fawcett and the Codebreakers

*The Allies' secret weapon*

**Even for the most public figures, it can take years for influence to be recognized. When the Official Secrets Act—British legislation criminalizing unauthorized disclosure of state secrets—is involved, it can take decades. So it wasn't until the 1990s that Jane Fawcett's work during World War II became widely known. In 1940, the 18-year-old debutante joined a covert project at Bletchley Park, headquarters for Allied military codebreaking. The 8,000 women there were underrepresented at the highest tiers of the operation but played a key role in shortening the war.**

**In 1941, Fawcett was sitting in a cramped, dark decoding room when a message came in that revealed the location of the *Bismarck*, Germany's most fearsome battleship. Fawcett translated the message and, immediately recognizing its importance, relayed the intel to the navy—which, two days later, found and sank the ship. This marked the first significant victory by the Bletchley Park Codebreakers but, Fawcett later said, she "never told a soul, not even my husband." —*Billy Perrigo***

MIEP GIES

HAVIVA REIK

HANNIE SCHAFT

HANNAH SZENES

1942 | COURAGE IN THE FACE OF HATE

## *THE RESISTERS*

BY ABIGAIL ABRAMS

HISTORIANS WHO HAIL THE HEROES OF WORLD WAR II typically focus on soldiers storming the beaches of Normandy or Allied troops liberating concentration camps. Rarely remembered are the networks of quiet, effective resisters who also risked their lives to thwart Nazi atrocities while the war raged on. These resisters are exemplified by women like Miep Gies, who in 1942 decided without hesitation to hide Anne Frank and her family along with others in Amsterdam. She later preserved the teen's diary, which allowed future generations to learn about life during the Holocaust and hear Anne's unique voice.

That same year, 28-year-old Haviva Reik enlisted with the pre–state of Israel's elite Palmach fighting force and later joined a unit of paratroopers, hoping to be sent to her native Slovakia to rescue Jews trapped under Nazi occupation. The British refused to transport a woman for a military mission, so Reik secured a ride from American pilots and met her colleagues behind enemy lines, in the middle of the Slovakian national uprising. After arriving, she fed starving Jewish residents, helped some escape and eventually rallied Jewish partisan fighters. In 1944, she was captured and killed by Nazi collaborators.

Hannie Schaft, another young dissenter, went from law student to legendary fighter when she and two friends seduced and killed Nazis as part of their work with the Dutch resistance. Her tactics were so infamous that Germans referred to her simply as "the girl with the red hair." And Hannah Szenes, who grew up experiencing anti-Semitism in Hungary, joined the British army in Palestine, parachuted into Yugoslavia and was captured trying to save Jews at the height of their deportation from her home country. Despite being tortured and put on trial, Szenes refused to betray her mission, and was also executed in 1944.

In her diary, Anne Frank wondered, "How many people look upon women too as soldiers?" They may not have fought on the front lines, but underground fighters and everyday objectors saved Jews and helped preserve the memory of the horrors that took place and the millions of lives that were lost.

HANNIE SCHAFT FOUNDATION; SZENES: ALAMY

HALL'S DRIVER'S LICENSE FROM THE 1930S

1943

## Virginia Hall

*A perfect spy*

**She was known as the Limping Lady, because of a prosthetic leg, but secretly, she was a hero. During tours in occupied France with the British Special Operations Executive and CIA predecessor Office of Strategic Services, American spy Virginia Hall was an intelligence-industry innovator. She used makeup and savvy subterfuge to escape capture by the Gestapo, who unsuccessfully hunted her for assisting the French Resistance.**

**Hall trained resistance cells that performed guerrilla sabotage like blowing up bridges and even derailing a freight train, and set the stage for the Allies to invade Normandy and Provence. At the end of the war, she reported that her team had captured 500 Germans and killed 150. The Nazis called her "the enemy's most dangerous spy."**

**Her work is credited with convincing British and American military officials to deploy other women as spies during a major moment for women in war. In 1942 and 1943, the U.S. Armed Forces finally allowed women to enlist. But female war veterans still struggled for recognition and benefits.**

**Though never publicly lauded during her lifetime—she received awards, but didn't want to blow her cover—Hall was the U.S.'s most decorated WW II woman civilian. She is credited with developing spy tactics that are still used by the CIA today.** ***—Erin Blakemore***

1944 | JUSTICE SEEKER

## *RECY TAYLOR*

BY AMANDA NGUYEN

ALL JUSTICE MOVEMENTS ARE INTERTWINED WITH ONE ANother. They are threads that make up the fabric of the American story. Progress today is possible because of the groundwork laid by trailblazers who stood up for what was right, even when it was dangerous. Each trailblazer has had other formidable women who shaped her career. For Rosa Parks, it was Recy Taylor.

In 1944, Taylor, a 24-year-old African-American mother from Alabama, was walking home from church when six white men kidnapped and gang-raped her at gunpoint. In Taylor's time, women—and people of color—were seen as neither reliable narrators of their own stories nor humans with equal worth and dignity. But Taylor refused to stay silent. Despite death threats and her family's home being firebombed by white supremacists, Taylor channeled her painful

TAYLOR, DAUGHTER JOYCE LEE AND HUSBAND WILLIE GUY

truths into a search for justice, speaking out and insisting on prosecution. The NAACP sent Parks—already a member of the group—to investigate, and other activists like W.E.B. Du Bois and Langston Hughes joined to form the Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Recy Taylor, garnering national press coverage. Taylor never received justice, but her case kindled the civil rights movement and inspired other black women to speak out about their assaults in a time of overwhelming discrimination. In 2011, the Alabama legislature officially apologized to Taylor for failing to prosecute her attackers.

*Nguyen is founder and CEO of Rise, a nonprofit that protects the rights of sexual-assault survivors*

1945

## Chien-Shiung Wu

*Unlocking the atomic age*

**Few people, when asked about the Manhattan Project and the weapons it created, call to mind the name Chien-Shiung Wu. But without the physicist, the project might have failed, perhaps prolonging World War II into 1946 and beyond. Wu was born in China in a town north of Shanghai in 1912, to parents who not only believed in educating girls but also founded a school that took care to include them. Wu emigrated to the U.S. in 1936, where she ultimately taught physics at Princeton University, and where she made two key contributions to building the bombs that ended the war. The first came in 1942, when Enrico Fermi was having trouble keeping his plutonium chain reaction running at a government research complex.**

**As the tale is told, he was advised to "ask Miss Wu." She correctly diagnosed the problem as xenon contamination. The second was after Wu formally joined the Manhattan Project, when she helped develop the method for separating nonfissionable uranium 238 from fissionable U-235—the bomb's key fuel. When the weapons were used in 1945 and the war was won, names like Fermi and Oppenheimer would be recalled best. But all owe some of their notoriety to the wisdom of Miss Wu. —*Jeffrey Kluger***

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TIME

# 100 WOMEN OF THE YEAR

The leaders, innovators, activists, entertainers, athletes and artists who defined a century

**1920** The Suffragists
**1921** Emmy Noether
**1922** Xiang Jingyu
**1923** Bessie Smith
**1924** Coco Chanel
**1925** Margaret Sanger
**1926** Aimee Semple McPherson
**1927** Queen Soraya Tarzi
**1928** Anna May Wong
**1929** Virginia Woolf
**1930** Martha Graham
**1931** Maria Montessori
**1932** Babe Didrikson
**1933** Frances Perkins
**1934** Mary McLeod Bethune
**1935** Amelia Earhart
**1936** Wallis Simpson
**1937** Soong Mei-ling
**1938** Frida Kahlo
**1939** Billie Holiday
**1940** Dorothea Lange
**1941** Jane Fawcett and the Codebreakers
**1942** The Resisters
**1943** Virginia Hall
**1944** Recy Taylor
**1945** Chien-Shiung Wu
**1946** Eva Perón
**1947** Amrit Kaur
**1948** Eleanor Roosevelt
**1949** Simone de Beauvoir
**1950** Margaret Chase Smith
**1951** Lucille Ball
**1952** Queen Elizabeth II
**1953** Rosalind Franklin
**1954** Marilyn Monroe
**1955** The Bus Riders
**1956** Golda Meir
**1957** Irna Phillips
**1958** China Machado
**1959** Grace Hopper
**1960** The Mirabal Sisters
**1961** Rita Moreno
**1962** Jacqueline Kennedy
**1963** Rachel Carson
**1964** Barbara Gittings
**1965** Dolores Huerta
**1966** Stephanie Kwolek
**1967** Zenzile Miriam Makeba
**1968** Aretha Franklin
**1969** Marsha P. Johnson
**1970** Gloria Steinem
**1971** Angela Davis
**1972** Patsy Takemoto Mink
**1973** Jane Roe
**1974** Lindy Boggs
**1975** American Women
**1976** Indira Gandhi
**1977** Judith Heumann
**1978** Lesley Brown
**1979** Tu Youyou
**1980** Anna Walentynowicz
**1981** Nawal El Saadawi
**1982** Margaret Thatcher
**1983** Françoise Barré-Sinoussi
**1984** bell hooks
**1985** Wilma Mankiller
**1986** Corazon Aquino
**1987** Diana, Princess of Wales
**1988** Florence Griffith Joyner
**1989** Madonna
**1990** Aung San Suu Kyi
**1991** Anita Hill
**1992** Sinead O'Connor
**1993** Toni Morrison
**1994** Joycelyn Elders
**1995** Sadako Ogata
**1996** Ruth Bader Ginsburg
**1997** Ellen DeGeneres
**1998** J.K. Rowling
**1999** Madeleine Albright
**2000** Sandra Day O'Connor
**2001** Wangari Maathai
**2002** The Whistleblowers
**2003** Serena Williams
**2004** Oprah Winfrey
**2005** The Good Samaritans
**2006** Ellen Johnson Sirleaf
**2007** Lilly Ledbetter
**2008** Michelle Obama
**2009** Malala Yousafzai
**2010** Nancy Pelosi
**2011** Tawakkol Karman
**2012** Pussy Riot
**2013** Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza and Opal Tometi
**2014** Beyoncé Knowles-Carter
**2015** Angela Merkel
**2016** Hillary Rodham Clinton
**2017** The Silence Breakers
**2018** The Guardians
**2019** Greta Thunberg

# ABOUT THE ARTISTS

## A dazzling array of new portraits capture subject, perspective and era

TO MARK THE ROLE OF THE 100 WOMEN OF THE YEAR IN history, we embarked on something historic of our own: creating a TIME cover to recognize each of them.

From charcoal portraits to a three-dimensional paper sculpture, from photo collages to fine-art paintings, from wooden sculptures to a quilted fabric image—the art we commissioned reflects the breadth of the 100 choices. Regardless of style, our aim was to find interesting pairings of artist and subject.

The project selected a woman or group to represent each year from 1920 to 2019, and our visual approach follows the same arc by re-creating TIME's cover design as it evolved over the past century—from the illustrative scroll of the 1920s to the iconic red border of today. Each cover is visually emblematic of the period its subject represents.

In all, we commissioned 49 original portraits. These are some of the stories behind them.

New York–based fine artist **Toyin Ojih Odutola** chose to portray Beyoncé Knowles-Carter in a Nigerian-inspired dress shirt and a honey-colored bob from 2014. "What I arrived at in my final drawing was a portrayal of a woman completely comfortable in her space while curious for what was to come in her future endeavors," says Odutola. "I hoped to express and retain the joy and wonder in her, the magnitude of her influence, and to illustrate how she did then as she continues to do so now: by inspiring us all to follow our creative inclinations yet never lose sight of ourselves."

**Mickalene Thomas,** a contemporary Brooklyn artist best known for her depictions of African-American women, created a layered image of LGBTQ-rights pioneer Marsha P. Johnson. "Collaging allows me to contemplate the processes around building an identity, a sense of self. This work first and foremost celebrates her as a person that radiated self-pride, vivacity, glamour and fearlessness, but also recognizes her legacy as a face of resistance."

**Shana Wilson**'s large-scale painting of Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg in 1996 was a labor of love. "I elected to paint Ruth without robes, 'just' as a woman, to showcase all of her achievements. She's also a daughter, wife, mother, grandmother, friend and mentor," says Wilson, who also painted First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy for our 1962 cover.

The vibrant image of Wangari Maathai was created by American fiber artist **Bisa Butler,** who used African Dutch-wax cottons, silk, and velvet quilted and appliquéd for her portrait of the Green Belt Movement founder and winner of the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize. "I have admired her from afar for years," says Butler, who has an upcoming show at the Art Institute of Chicago. "This whole experience brought me closer to her legacy and closer to my own purpose."

To make a new image of Diana, Princess of Wales—who has graced TIME's cover 11 times—we turned to paper-sculpture artist **Yulia Brodskaya.** Using just paper and glue, Brodskaya created an incredibly complex portrait, providing a new way of seeing one of the most-photographed women of that time. "My main vision for Princess Diana's portrait was simply to fill it with light," says the U.K.-based artist, who spent two weeks producing the artwork.

*Butler holds her fabric-stitched portrait of Maathai*

SANGSUK SYLVIA KANG FOR TIME

For the year 1920, the Spanish-born graphite and charcoal artist **Amaya Gurpide** rendered a cover illustration of five women known as suffragists. Gurpide captured the feel of TIME's very first cover in 1923—a charcoal illustration by artist William Oberhardt.

**Jennifer Dionisio,** a London-based illustrator, created a portrait of pioneering physicist Chien-Shiung Wu for 1945. Its style syncs with what is considered the golden age of TIME's illustrated cover, a period dominated by Boris Artzybasheff, Ernest Hamlin Baker and Boris Chaliapin. Known as the ABCs, the three artists illustrated more than 900 TIME covers over three decades.

The realistic and delicately expressive style of Spanish illustrator **Mercedes deBellard** carries the 1976 cover of Indira Gandhi, the first female Prime Minister of India.

To capture Rosa Parks, Claudette Colvin, Mary Louise Smith and Aurelia Browder, who initiated the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955, we turned to Philadelphia artist **Lavett Ballard.** Ballard, whose work focuses on "themes of history, colorism and Afrofuturism," illustrated the campaign of peaceful resistance on a painted collage applied to reclaimed wood fences.

"The use of fences," says Ballard, "is a symbolic reference to how fences keep people in and out, just as racial and gender identities can do the same socially."

—D.W. PINE,
*TIME* CREATIVE DIRECTOR

# TIME

# 100 WOMEN OF THE YEAR

**1920**
The Suffragists

**1921**
Emmy Noether

**1922**
Xiang Jingyu

**1923**
Bessie Smith

**1924**
Coco Chanel

**1925**
Margaret Sanger

**1926**
Aimee Semple McPherson

**1927**
Queen Soraya Tarzi

**1928**
Anna May Wong

**1929**
Virginia Woolf

**1930**
Martha Graham

**1931**
Maria Montessori

**1932**
Babe Didrikson

**1933**
Frances Perkins

**1934**
Mary McLeod Bethune

**1935**
Amelia Earhart

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Soong Mei-ling

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Recy Taylor

**1938**
Frida Kahlo

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Billie Holiday

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**1941**
Jane Fawcett

**1942**
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**1943**
Virginia Hall

**1945**
Chien-Shiung Wu

**1951**
Lucille Ball

**1946**
Eva Perón

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Amrit Kaur

**1948**
Eleanor Roosevelt

**1949**
Simone de Beauvoir

**1950**
Margaret Chase Smith

**1952**
Queen Elizabeth II

**1953**
Rosalind Franklin

**1954**
Marilyn Monroe

**1955**
The Bus Riders

**1956**
Golda Meir

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Irna Phillips

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China Machado

**1959**
Grace Hopper

**1960**
The Mirabal Sisters

**1961**
Rita Moreno

**1968**
Aretha Franklin

**1962**
Jacqueline Kennedy

**1963**
Rachel Carson

**1964**
Barbara Gittings

**1965**
Dolores Huerta

**1966**
Stephanie Kwolek

**1967**
Zenzile Miriam Makeba

**1969**
Marsha P. Johnson

**1970**
Gloria Steinem

**1971**
Angela Davis

**1978**
Lesley Brown

**1972**
Patsy Takemoto Mink

**1973**
Jane Roe

**1974**
Lindy Boggs

**1975**
American Women

**1976**
Indira Gandhi

**1977**
Judith Heumann

**1979**
Tu Youyou

**1980**
Anna Walentynowicz

**1981**
Nawal El Saadawi

**1988**
Florence Griffith Joyner

**1982**
Margaret Thatcher

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Françoise Barré-Sinoussi

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Anita Hill

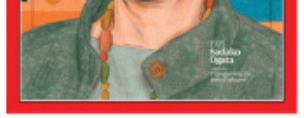




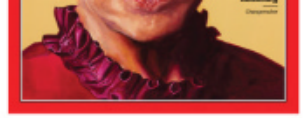

**1992**
Sinead O'Connor

**1993**
Toni Morrison

**1994**
Joycelyn Elders



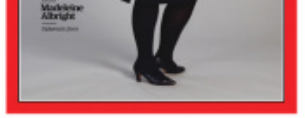
**1995**
Sadako Ogata



**1996**
Ruth Bader Ginsburg

**1997**
Ellen DeGeneres

**1998**
J.K. Rowling



**1999**
Madeleine Albright

**2000**
Sandra Day O'Connor

**2001**
Wangari Maathai

**2002**
The Whistleblowers

**2003**
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Angela Merkel

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Hillary Rodham Clinton

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**2018**
The Guardians

**2019**
Greta Thunberg

XENIA LEVINA

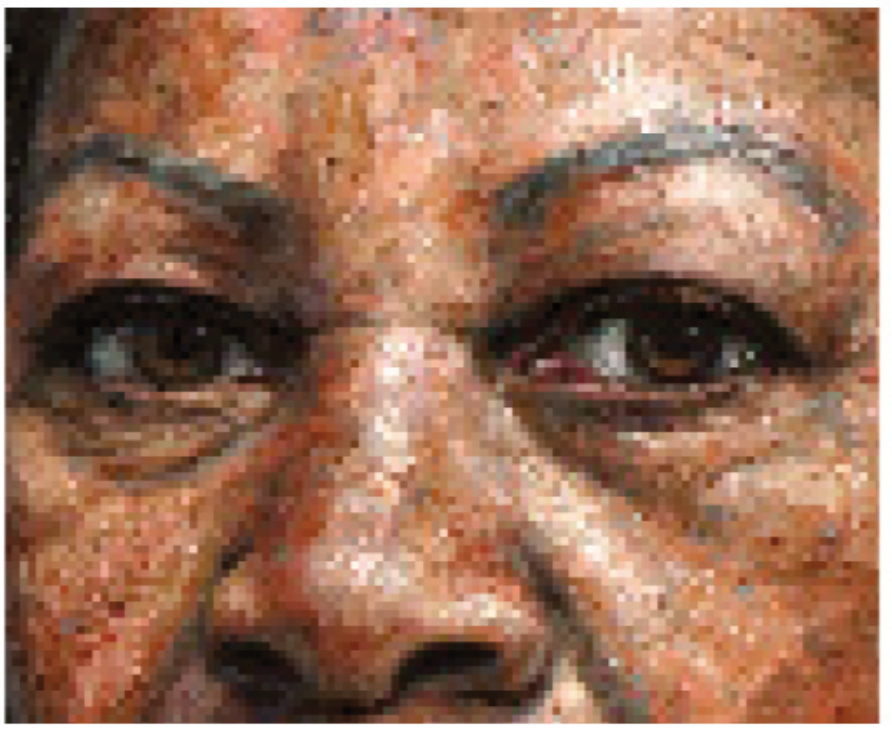
TED WATERS

*Clockwise from top left: graphite and charcoal artist **Amaya Gurpide,** who drew the 1920 cover of the Suffragists, in her studio; **Lavett Ballard** putting the final touches on her wooden sculpture of Rosa Parks; **Sarah Jane Moon** painting Nawal El Saadawi in her London studio; **Shana Wilson** in her Edmonton, Alberta, studio at work on her portrait of Ruth Bader Ginsburg*

*Inside the studio of paper-sculpture artist **Yulia Brodskaya,** who spent two weeks creating the 23-by-37-in. three-dimensional portrait of Diana, Princess of Wales. "I remember every paper strip I picked, folded and glued down, but I can't grasp how—despite the roughness, texture and schematic quality of it—a paper-strip portrait is still capable of conveying emotions and a person's likeness," says the Russian-born artist. "Slowly over the years, I learned to trust the process, and always try my best not to give in to the doubting voice in my head."*

# THE DETAILS

*Clockwise from top left: closeups of artist Patrick Faricy's rendering of Babe Didrikson at the 1932 Olympics; Yulia Brodskaya's paper sculpture of Diana, Princess of Wales; Tim Okamura's painting of Toni Morrison; Bisa Butler's quilted portrait of Wangari Maathai*



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1946 ›

## Eva Perón

*Woman of the people*

Evita, as Argentines call their most famous First Lady, was in showbiz long before the Broadway musical about her life. In the 1930s, 15-year-old Eva Duarte moved from her impoverished family's home to Buenos Aires to become an actor. But parts in radio plays gave way to a more pivotal role: shaping Argentina's political future.

In 1946, shortly after marrying General Juan Domingo Perón, Eva began campaigning for her husband in presidential elections. After she became First Lady that year, her speeches championing "the shirtless"—as she called the working class—became foundational to Peronism, the controversial populist movement that still divides Argentine politics today. Eva used her influence to divert money to massive social programs, funding schools, orphanages and hospitals. Her support was also crucial to the passage of women's suffrage in 1947.

Seven decades after Evita died from cancer in 1952, she still looms large—sometimes literally. When Peronists won the presidential election in October, they relit a monumental portrait of her that rivals had blacked out on Buenos Aires' biggest avenue, returning her to the forefront of the national narrative. The truth is, she never left. *—Ciara Nugent*

‹ 1947

## Amrit Kaur

*Championing an independent India*

**In 1918, a young princess returned to India from studying at Oxford and became fascinated by Mohandas Gandhi's teachings. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, born into the royal family of Kapurthala and educated in Edwardian England, decided her life's mission was to help India break free from its colonial ties and oppressive societal norms. Before long, she was tackling social issues, pushing for women's education and the right to vote and to divorce, and speaking out against child marriage. She became a secretary to Gandhi in 1930.**

**When India finally won independence from British rule in 1947, Kaur became the first woman to join the Cabinet, serving as Health Minister for 10 years. In that position, she founded the Indian Council for Child Welfare; helped establish the country's top hospital and medical college; and campaigned to prevent malaria, likely saving hundreds of thousands of lives. Awarded an honorary degree from Princeton in 1956, Kaur was praised for offering "substantial and highly effective programs of action" to mothers and children, to the sick and starving.**

**In leaving her life of luxury, Kaur not only helped build lasting democratic institutions, she also inspired generations to fight for the marginalized. *—Naina Bajekal***

PERÓN: GL ARCHIVE/ALAMY; KAUR: ANL/SHUTTERSTOCK

1948

## Eleanor Roosevelt

*Leading the charge for human rights*

**Having held the title from 1933 to 1945, Eleanor Roosevelt was the longest-serving First Lady in U.S. history. What she did with the office was impressive: by crisscrossing the country to promote President Franklin D. Roosevelt's agenda, and by producing a radio show and newspaper column, she showed that First Ladies could play an active part in Executive Branch affairs. And yet she left an even greater legacy after her time in the White House ended.**

**When FDR died in 1945, his successor, Harry S. Truman, appointed the erstwhile FLOTUS to be America's first delegate to the newly created United Nations. As chair of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, she worked in the years after the Holocaust to prevent future world wars and spearheaded the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the General Assembly adopted on Dec. 10, 1948. Its statement that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" is still considered a foundation of international human-rights law. It's no wonder she called that work her "most important task." —*Olivia B. Waxman***

1949

## Simone de Beauvoir

*Foundational feminist*

DE BEAUVOIR IN PARIS IN 1948

Simone de Beauvoir was born in 1908 into an upper-class Catholic family. While studying for the competitive agrégation exam in philosophy, which she passed in 1929, she met Jean-Paul Sartre, the great love of her life. In 1949, she published *The Second Sex* and revolutionized feminist thought. She won France's highest literary prize in 1954 for her novel *The Mandarins* and, in 1971, wrote the text of the Manifesto of the 343, a French petition to legalize abortion.

At 16, I stumbled upon an image of de Beauvoir sitting in Café de Flore in Paris with a stack of books. "She's a famous author," my mother told me. I went to the library and borrowed *The Second Sex,* expecting an erotic book that would answer my burning questions. The first few pages were a disappointment. This wasn't a book about love or sex, nor a treatise on pleasure. But I kept going.

It was a revelation. De Beauvoir exposed a long-hidden truth: that there is no female nature. She consulted biology, history, mythology, literature, ethnology, medicine and psychoanalysis to question the roles assigned to women. The book told me that I control my destiny. If there is no fixed female essence, then we too are only what we do.

*The Second Sex* provided me with weapons to understand, to defend, to respond and to persuade. It gave me the desire to write, an exercise in reclaiming the self. De Beauvoir knew: "Freedom is an inexhaustible source of discovery, and every time we give it a chance to develop, we enrich the world." *—Leïla Slimani, translated from French by Gretchen Schmid*

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*Slimani is the author of* The Perfect Nanny *and* Adèle

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1950 | CONSCIENCE OF A NATION

# MARGARET CHASE SMITH

BY DAVID FRENCH

ON JUNE 1, 1950, MAINE SENATOR MARGARET CHASE Smith—then the only woman in the U.S. Senate—stood before the world's greatest deliberative body and confronted a fellow Republican, Senator Joseph McCarthy, over his destructive witch hunt for American communists.

Her "Declaration of Conscience" should be remembered as one of the seminal addresses in the history of the Senate. Americans, she said, possess "the right to hold unpopular beliefs." They also have a "right to protest" and a "right of independent thought." Moreover, "The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood, nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs."

This is a statement of true tolerance and resonates with core American principles. Although Smith was hailed in some quarters, McCarthy responded with an insult fit for Twitter, calling Smith and her six Republican co-signers "Snow White and the Six Dwarfs." Ultimately, Smith prevailed.

Smith did more than merely confront McCarthy. She also defined the GOP as the "champion of unity and prudence." She placed the party in the lineage of Abraham Lincoln. She was a strong Republican, but, she said, "I don't want to see the Republican Party rise to victory on the four horses of calumny: fear, ignorance, bigotry and smear."

There are times when victory is not worth the cost.

*French is a columnist for TIME*

1951 >

## Lucille Ball

*Comedic genius*

**Lucille Ball spent decades drifting between stage, screen and radio before she found her niche. But TV made her a star, perhaps because she so passionately defended her vision for the first great sitcom, *I Love Lucy*. CBS initially declined to cast Ball's husband Desi Arnaz as the foil to her daffy housewife, fearing the marriage of a white woman and a Cuban-born man would alienate viewers. So the couple self-financed a pilot too good to refuse. In the second season, an expecting Ball helped destroy a taboo that framed pregnancy as salacious proof that a woman had been sexually active, with a story line about the birth of Little Ricky.**

**Working in a medium that reflected and helped shape the postwar U.S. family, the show offered an image of domestic life that was more progressive, but also just funnier, than the sanitized world of Ozzie and Harriet. Ball wielded even more power behind the camera. After splitting with Arnaz, she took over Desilu, the production company that launched *Star Trek* and *Mission: Impossible*. Three decades after her death, Hollywood's most powerful women—from Julia Louis-Dreyfus to Reese Witherspoon—walk a path she cleared. *—Judy Berman***

< 1952 PERSON OF THE YEAR

## Queen Elizabeth II

*Symbol of power*

When TIME named Queen Elizabeth II the Woman of the Year in 1952, it was not for her gender but for what she symbolized. The 26-year-old acceding to the throne, editors wrote, was a "fresh young blossom" whose citizens hoped she would be an "omen of a great future." In fact, Elizabeth became Queen just as the dissolution of the British Empire sped up, with the loss of Egypt, Sudan and Ghana in the early years of her reign.

Almost seven decades later, she oversees an island nation reduced to a bit player on the world stage. Yet at the age of 93, her soft power is undimmed; she draws both great leaders and throngs of tourists to her state, and personifies British endurance untainted by politics. She has steered her family through scandal successfully enough that the next generation is poised to carry the crown forward. Unlike her heirs, however, she remains virtually unknowable, having never allowed the media access to her private thoughts or opinions. In her utter rejection of a public persona, she is best understood, still, as a symbol: no longer the potent florescence of youth, but a hard-worn tree in whose limbs and roots can be traced the archaeology of an era. *—Dan Stewart*

SMITH: MARGARET CHASE SMITH LIBRARY; BALL: EVERETT; ELIZABETH II: DOROTHY WILDING—CAMERA PRESS/REDUX

1953

## Rosalind Franklin

*Visionary scientist*

**Without Rosalind Franklin, there may have been no James Watson and Francis Crick. Trained as a chemist, she created an X-ray that showed the double-helix structure of DNA molecules. Watson knew the image and the data Franklin derived from it were crucial. Watson, Crick and their colleague Maurice Wilkins came by the image and data legitimately, but no one pretends they could have proved the structure of DNA without her work. When Watson and Crick published their findings, Franklin wasn't credited. She died of cancer at 37 in 1958. In my efforts to support cancer research, I've met female scientists who are respected by their male colleagues. I'm sorry Rosalind Franklin wasn't. —*Katie Couric***

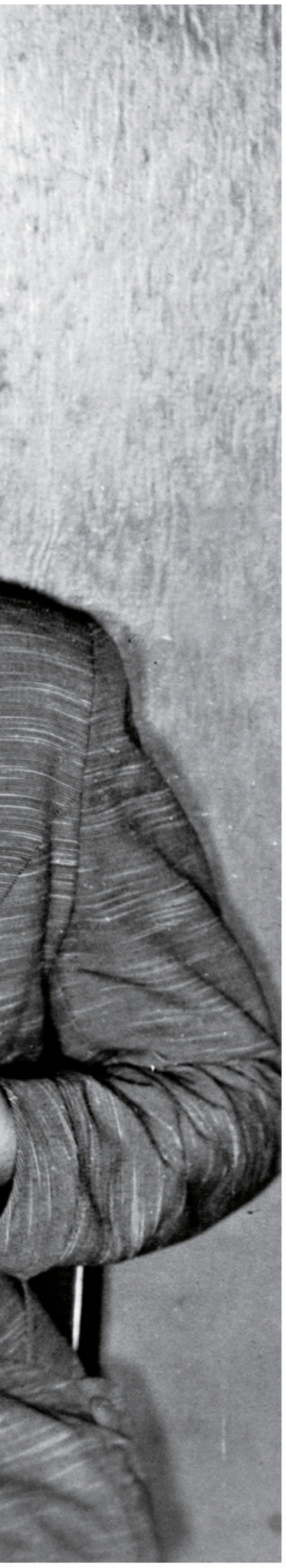
***Couric is a journalist***

1954

## Marilyn Monroe

*Icon for the ages*

In 1954, Marilyn Monroe—already a sex symbol and a movie star—posed on the corner of Lexington Avenue and 52nd Street in New York City, for a scene intended to appear in her 1955 film *The Seven Year Itch*. The breeze blowing up through a subway grate sent her white dress billowing around her, an image that lingers today like a joyful, animated ghost. Monroe was a stunner, but she was also a brilliant actor and comedian who strove to be taken seriously in a world of men who wanted to see her only as an object of desire. Today, especially in a world after Harvey Weinstein's downfall, she stands as a woman who fought a system that was rigged against her from the start. She brought us such pleasure, even as our hearts broke for her. *—Stephanie Zacharek*



1955 | DEMANDING DIGNITY

# THE BUS RIDERS

BY OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

IN THE HOURS AFTER ROSA PARKS' ARREST ON Dec. 1, 1955, Women's Political Council president and Alabama State College professor Jo Ann Robinson used the school's mimeograph machine to run off a set of flyers. "Another Negro Woman has been arrested and thrown into jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down," they read. "Don't ride the buses."

At the time, 75% of the people who rode the bus in Montgomery, Ala., were African American—and they knew there was strength in numbers. The boycott announced in that flyer lasted more than a year, and its seeds had been sown long before. Claudette Colvin, 15, had refused to give up her seat that March. So had Aurelia Browder, 36, in April and Mary Louise Smith, 18, in October.

CLAUDETTE COLVIN

Black Montgomery residents were aghast when two policemen dragged Colvin off the bus on March 2. Martin Luther King Jr., an activist minister who had just moved to the area six months prior, helped fight Colvin's arrest—knowing that, with *Brown v. Board of Education* having struck down school segregation in 1954, the door was open for other legal challenges to segregation, says historian Jeanne Theoharis. But while Colvin was charged with violating the city bus segregation law, she was only convicted of assaulting a police officer, so a direct legal challenge to that specific law couldn't be made.

Parks was well aware of Colvin's case, having invited her to the local NAACP chapter's youth meetings. So Parks didn't resist when she was arrested, making sure she could be charged only with violating a segregation law. Years of involvement in the civil rights movement factored into this act of defiance; she has said she felt "pushed as far as I could stand to be pushed."

In theory, this opened up a path to challenge the law, but civil rights leaders worried that Parks' case could get stuck in state courts—an appeal by 1944 bus resister Viola White had been tied up in the Alabama courts—and that her NAACP activism could doom its chances. So in February 1956, lawyer Fred Gray filed a separate federal suit with Colvin, Browder, Smith and longtime bus rider Susie McDonald, 77, as the named plaintiffs. "No man is willing to be on the case," says Theoharis, author of *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks.* But four women, including two teenagers, were. A federal district court ruled intrastate segregated buses unconstitutional in *Browder v. Gayle* in June; the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the decision that November.

The boycott ended Dec. 20, 1956, having cost the city over $750,000 (about $7 million today). Facing death threats and unemployment, Parks and Colvin decided to move north, but their actions had already helped inform a new phase of the civil rights movement, and had catapulted King into a new leadership position.

The plaintiffs never received the recognition many male activists did, but their resistance informed both Parks' decision to stay seated and the important legal fight that followed. With their victory, these women paved the way for the desegregation of public places, central to the civil rights movement.

PARKS WAS ARRESTED AGAIN IN FEBRUARY 1956 FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

# *'MANY ACCUSE ME OF CONDUCTING PUBLIC AFFAIRS WITH MY HEART INSTEAD OF MY HEAD. WELL, WHAT IF I DO?'*

## Golda Meir

**1956** | ISRAEL'S ESSENTIAL EMISSARY

Born in Kyiv and raised in Milwaukee, Golda Meir embraced the Zionist dream of a Jewish homeland, and proved effective at promoting it. After she raised $50 million for Israel's war of independence, founding Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion wrote that Meir was the "Jewish woman who got the money which made the state possible." Golda Meir became Israel's second Foreign Minister in 1956. Her election as Prime Minister 13 years later made her not only the first woman to lead Israel, but also a role model in another liberation movement, farther west. *—Karl Vick*

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PHILLIPS, WITH PHOTOGRAPHS OF HER CHILDREN IN 1949 IN CHICAGO

1957

## Irna Phillips

*Queen of the soap opera*

Forbidden love, hidden children, tragic deaths, tearful reunions. For Irna Phillips, creator of the soap opera, nail-biters and heartbreak were all in a day's work. Phillips pioneered the genre when she wrote, produced and starred in a radio serial called *Painted Dreams* in the early '30s. By 1957, her newest TV project, *As the World Turns,* was making soap-opera history. The show broke boundaries, expanding soap operas' length and scope. With its focus on the residents of fictional Oakdale, Ill., *As the World Turns* privileged character over plot—a method still seen in today's prestige TV. Phillips popularized cliff-hangers and swelling organ music to ratchet up tension, and commercials for household goods like margarine and, yes, soap to wash it away. Within two years of its release, *As the World Turns* became America's top daytime show. Eventually 10 million viewers tuned in every afternoon.

Dismissed by critics, the show was beloved by women who saw their preoccupations and power reflected. Its popularity proved to advertisers that women's stories were worth investment. *As the World Turns* ran for 54 years, the third longest TV run of any daytime soap. Another Phillips creation, *Guiding Light,* was canceled in 2009 after 72 years on radio and television.
*—Erin Blakemore*

1958

## China Machado

*Redefining beauty*

**Before Noelie "China" Machado started modeling, she said, she never thought she was beautiful; there were "no images" of people like her. (Machado had Portuguese, Chinese and Indian roots.) But in 1958, she was photographed by Richard Avedon, becoming one of the first known women of color featured in a major U.S. magazine. Machado said Avedon threatened to sever ties with *Harper's Bazaar* when the publisher balked at her appearance. The final images paved the way for other women of color in the industry.**

**Time and again, Machado was a pioneer. She became an editor at *Harper's* in 1962 and signed with IMG Models at the age of 81—proving that a more inclusive view of beauty was not just possible, but necessary. *—Cady Lang***

1959

## Grace Hopper

*Programming pioneer*

Grace Hopper graduated from Yale in 1934 with a mathematics Ph.D., and her service in the U.S. Navy Reserve during World War II put her on the front lines of computer science in the 1940s. By 1959, she had helped to create and popularize COBOL, one of the first standardized computer languages. As a pioneer in programming, Hopper shaped the world of software as we know it today—and paved the way for women everywhere to thrive in math, computer science and service to their countries. In 2016, President Obama posthumously awarded her the Presidential Medal of Freedom, saying, "If Wright is flight and Edison is light, then Hopper is code." *—Susan Fowler*

*Fowler is the author of* Whistleblower



PHILLIPS: WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY; MACHADO: JERRY SCHATZBERG—GETTY IMAGES; HOPPER: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS/INTERIM ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

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MINERVA PATRIA MARÍA TERESA

1960

## The Mirabal Sisters

*Undermining a dictator*

**Minerva, Patria and María Teresa Mirabal—sisters, all married with children—were not likely revolutionaries. But in the Dominican Republic in the late 1950s they risked their lives resisting the regime of Rafael Trujillo. The state's murder of the sisters, ages between 25 and 36, on Nov. 25, 1960, outraged the public and triggered Trujillo's own assassination six months later. After the country's transition to democracy in the late 1970s, the Butterflies, as Dominicans call the sisters, became symbols of democratic and feminist resistance. The U.N. made the date of their deaths International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. —*Ciara Nugent***

1961

## Rita Moreno

*Breaking Hollywood barriers*

Rita Moreno's 1961 breakout role in *West Side Story* almost made her quit acting. Makeup artists colored her darker, and Moreno, a Puerto Rican native, felt her accent "didn't make any sense." She resented being asked to sing "America," which had lines like "Puerto Rico, you ugly island/ Island of tropic diseases." She spoke up, and the lyrics were changed. In her long career, she hasn't stopped fighting against typecasting and for fair representation of Latinos. In 1962, she became the first Latina to win an Oscar, going on to take home a rare full EGOT. In 2020, she'll return to *West Side Story*—this time as an executive producer. —*Soledad O'Brien*

*O'Brien is a journalist and documentarian*

THE KENNEDYS IN HYANNIS PORT, MASS., IN 1959

1962 | DEFINING A NEW AMERICAN ERA

# *JACQUELINE KENNEDY*

BY NATALIE PORTMAN

THE YOUNGEST FIRST LADY IN NEARLY 80 YEARS, JACQUELINE KENNEDY was unlike any before or since. What had been criticized about her during her husband's campaign for President—her style, her hair, her elite education and upbringing—she recognized as assets once she was in the White House. She was savvy at leveraging her public persona, quickly becoming a fashion icon and a leading proponent of prioritizing history and the arts for everyday Americans.

After her husband took office, she turned her attention to the refurbishment of the White House. She took care to solicit artifacts from previous Presidents, as well as redesigning rooms to reflect different eras of American history. The First Lady's nationally televised tour of the renovated White House in 1962 drew a record 56 million viewers from around the world. (She later won an honorary Emmy.) Having studied art history, she understood the power of cultural monuments to create national and historical identity. This understanding, combined with her trendsetting style and appearances, helped her become so popular that President Kennedy famously described himself as "the man who accompanied Jacqueline Kennedy to Paris."

After a little less than three years in the White House, at the age of 34, she was made the world's most famous widow. She had the unimaginable composure to understand the historical and public importance of her reaction to her husband's assassination, even amid her personal grief and trauma. She made several swift and crucial choices that helped keep the nation together: she wore the now iconic pink suit with bloodstains during Lyndon B. Johnson's swearing-in, to remind the country of what had just happened hours earlier. She orchestrated a funeral based on Lincoln's that gave a ritual and pageantry, cementing her husband's legend. And she crafted her family's Camelot story into a carefully controlled narrative, to allow the nation to have the sort of royalty they desired.

Following her husband's passing, Jackie worked to create a safe and nurturing environment for her children, eventually marrying Aristotle Onassis. She later became an editor at Doubleday and a vibrant part of New York City life—particularly with her advocacy for preserving Grand Central Terminal and her support of the American Ballet Theatre. For a woman so aware of her public narrative, she surprisingly said, "I want to live my life, not record it." In our current age of obsession over how we present ourselves to the world, she is a model of one who found beauty amid tragedy to truly appreciate her precious, only life.

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*Portman is an Oscar-winning actor and director who starred in* Jackie

MIRABAL: CASA MUSEO HERMANAS MIRABAL (3); MORENO: MPTVIMAGES/REUTERS; KENNEDY: MARK SHAW—MPTVIMAGES

1963

## Rachel Carson

*Force of nature*

**There was a time when a book could change the world. Biologist and writer Rachel Carson's early works about the ocean were besotted with life. But her fourth book, *Silent Spring,* was a searing indictment of synthetic pesticides—grim nerve agents for insects like DDT that she called "elixirs of death." Published in September 1962, it likened the danger from pesticides to the threat from nuclear-weapons testing. Chemicals "are the sinister and little-recognized partners of radiation in changing the very nature of the world—the very nature of its life," Carson told the nation in April 1963, in a CBS Reports television documentary. An investigation President Kennedy had ordered soon confirmed Carson's claims.**

**As an editor for the Fish and Wildlife Service, Carson had lived a quiet life with her adopted son, her mother and a few cats. By the time of her death from breast cancer in 1964, at 56, she had set in motion a movement that produced Earth Day, the Environmental Protection Agency, a domestic ban on DDT and a transformation of how Americans see the world they inhabit. —*William Souder***

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***Souder is the author of* On a Farther Shore: The Life and Legacy of Rachel Carson**

1964

## Barbara Gittings

*"Gay is good"*

The Stonewall riots have become the focal point of the modern LGBTQ-rights movement, but they didn't start it. The groundwork was laid in the previous decade by activists like Barbara Gittings, who understood that before marginalized people can prevail, they must understand that they are worthy and that they are not alone.

In an era when it was dangerous to be out, Gittings edited the *Ladder,* a periodical published by the nation's first known lesbian-rights organization, the Daughters of Bilitis, creating a sense of national identity and providing a platform for resistance. In the August 1964 issue, her editorial blasted a medical report that described homosexuality as a disease, writing that it treated lesbians like her more as "curious specimens" than as humans.

Gittings would go on to be instrumental in getting the American Psychiatric Association to stop classifying homosexuality as a mental illness and in getting libraries to carry gay literature. Whether she was wielding a pen or a protest sign, the militant advocate had a simple message: when society said that being gay was an abomination, Gittings said that gay was good. —*Katy Steinmetz*

CARSON: ALFRED EISENSTAEDT—GETTY IMAGES; GITTINGS: KAY TOBIN—MANUSCRIPTS AND ARCHIVES DIVISION/NYPL; HUERTA: DOLORES HUERTA WITH BULLHORN BY JON LEWIS, 1965 © YALE UNIVERSITY. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. COURTESY OF

HUERTA WAS A KEY ORGANIZER OF THE GRAPEWORKERS' STRIKE IN CALIFORNIA IN 1965

1965 | MOVEMENT BUILDER

# *DOLORES HUERTA*

BY AI-JEN POO

"SÍ, SE PUEDE." WE HEAR IT AT PROTESTS AND SEE IT written on signs at marches, and it became the rallying cry of Obama supporters during his 2008 presidential campaign. A chant of unity and strength, it has been embraced by many social movements that have brought American democracy closer to its promise. It signifies the movement for economic justice and farmworker dignity that Dolores Huerta began in the 1960s, before many who chant her words today were even alive.

Born in New Mexico in 1930, Huerta was raised by a farmworker and union-activist father, and a mother who welcomed farmworkers into her hotel at reduced rates. Her parents' values seeded Huerta's career in activism: as a young elementary-school teacher, she saw her students come to class hungry and in need of shoes, and decided she could help them best by organizing their farmworker families. By age 32, she co-founded the National Farm Workers Association with Cesar Chavez. And in 1965, she led a grapeworkers' strike in California that turned into a successful nationwide consumer boycott of grapes and resulted in better pay, benefits and protections for thousands of workers.

Huerta launched the slogan "Sí, se puede" ("Yes, we can") amid farmworker protests in Arizona in 1972 as a demonstration of her belief in the individual and collective power of workers. For female workers in particular, her role was transformative. At a time when less than 40% of women were in the workforce, Huerta insisted that they have an equal voice at work and in unions, elevated low-wage workers in the women's movement and mentored young female activists across the country. To Huerta, women are never powerless victims, only leaders and authors of their own stories.

We have been learning from Huerta for decades. She saw a need to address working poverty at its root, and remains one of our nation's greatest labor leaders. When we see injustice, may we all seek to organize power, as Huerta did, and may we do so with her unstoppable strength and determination.

*Poo is the director of the National Domestic Workers Alliance*

1966

## Stephanie Kwolek

*Inventor of resilience*

Twice in chemist Stephanie Kwolek's life, she refused to take no for an answer, and both times it paid off. The first was in 1946 when, just out of Carnegie Mellon University, she applied for a job at DuPont and was told that it'd take two weeks for an answer. That timing was a problem, she told her interviewer, since she had another offer to consider. So on the spot, she was offered the job.

The second occurred in 1964. Kwolek, still at DuPont, had been assigned to develop long-chain polymers that could be manufactured at temperatures below 200°C (392°F); lower-temperature polymers meant stronger polymers. Kwolek came up with a thick, cloudy fluid with the opalescence of spoiled meat. She took it to the lab to be spun down into whatever fibers it might produce, and the operator of the device refused, worrying that the stuff would clog the equipment. She insisted. The result: Kevlar, which she patented in 1966. Today, Kevlar is used in more than 200 products including spacecraft, cell phones and, of course, bulletproof vests that have saved the lives of countless police officers and soldiers around the world. *—Jeffrey Kluger*

1967

## Zenzile Miriam Makeba

*Sound of South Africa*

**The 1967 global hit "Pata Pata," sung by Johannesburg-born Zenzile Miriam Makeba, wasn't South Africa's freedom anthem—apartheid wouldn't end for another 27 years—but it provided the opening riff for a revolution.**

**A musician forced into exile in the U.S. in 1960 by a regime weary of her vocal opposition, Makeba, known by then as Mama Africa, salted her international concerts with harrowing accounts of growing up black under white-minority rule. Wherever she toured, condemnation of her government followed. "People think I consciously decided to tell the world what was happening in South Africa," she once told an interviewer. "No! I was singing about my life, and in South Africa we always sang about what was happening to us—especially the things that hurt us." The opening chords of "Pata Pata" were an irresistible earworm; by the time Makeba hit the refrain, audiences were already moving, both with the music and against the apartheid regime. Makeba returned to South Africa once apartheid began to crumble in 1990, picking up almost exactly where she had left off 31 years prior: using her music as a balm for her country's wounded soul. *—Aryn Baker***



KWOLEK: HAGLEY ARCHIVE/SCIENCE SOURCE; MAKEBA: MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

# here's to the women who do it right, on and off the lot.

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Congratulations to this year's TIME Dealer of the Year, Susan Moffitt, and the five other incredible female nominees and finalists. By excelling in their businesses and leading various charitable endeavors, each has helped develop and improve their communities. All are shining examples of what it looks like to do it right.

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Tawas City, MI

**TDOY Nominee**
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Hilo, HI

**TDOY Nominee**
**Stacey Gillman**
Houston, TX

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1968

## Aretha Franklin

*Queen of soul*

**R&B may be the secular child of gospel music, but in Aretha Franklin's voice the two styles entwined in heavenly perfection: every note she sang felt sacred and sublime. Franklin, born in 1942, began singing gospel as a child in her father's Detroit church and, at 18, signed with Columbia Records. But it was her move to Atlantic Records, in 1967, that ignited her career.**

**Franklin released three albums in 1968: *Lady Soul,* appearing in January, included "Chain of Fools," a dis aimed at an ex-lover that could also be read as an excoriation of people who would follow blindly rather than lead. Summer saw the release of *Aretha Now;* on that album's "Think," Franklin turned the words "Freedom, oh freedom!" into a defiant chant, an insistence on forward movement at all costs. That song—that whole album—was a salve for a torn nation: between the release of *Lady Soul* and *Aretha Now,* the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. opened up a wound in the country that has never fully healed. Franklin capped off the year with a live album, and her career continued to climb. But 1968 was when we needed her most. She more than delivered. —*Stephanie Zacharek***

1969

## Marsha P. Johnson

*Pride over prejudice*

In 1969, police raided a gay bar in New York City called the Stonewall Inn, patrons resisted, and the LGBT-rights movement changed forever. One of the rioters who burst into the streets was Marsha P. Johnson, a self-described transvestite and drag queen who helped remind everyone just how many directions oppression can come from.

Decades later, New York City decided to erect a statue in her honor. There's a documentary about her. Fans have tattooed themselves with her image and words. The surge of interest is due, in part, to the example set by "St. Marsha." As she called on fellow activists not to forget issues like class and homelessness and racism—long before the word *intersectional* was in the zeitgeist—Johnson pushed past struggles like mental illness, poverty and HIV.

"She was a black, gender-nonconforming, feminine-presenting, sex-working, street-living person," says Susan Stryker, visiting professor of women's, gender and sexuality studies at Yale University. "Yet she was politically engaged."

The fervor also comes from a growing acknowledgment of how LGBT rights in America took shape in the wake of Stonewall. Accounts don't agree on what the likable, unpredictable Johnson did that night. Some say she was among the first to revolt. Others insist she showed up later. But many argue it's beside the point. "I don't think whether she threw that first brick matters," says Darius Bost, assistant professor of ethnic studies at the University of Utah. "It's about the diversity of that legacy. Were trans women there? Were people of color there?" The answer is yes: before, during and after. —*Katy Steinmetz*

JOHNSON WAS A FIXTURE IN NEW YORK CITY FOR DECADES



FRANKLIN: RAYMOND DEPARDON—MAGNUM PHOTOS; JOHNSON: THE ALVIN BALTROP TRUST, ©2010, THIRD STREAMING, NY, AND GALERIE BUCHHOLZ, BERLIN/COLOGNE/NEW YORK

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STEINEM, CENTER, AT THE WOMEN'S STRIKE FOR EQUALITY IN AUGUST 1970

1970

## Gloria Steinem

*Women's-liberation leader*

**By 1970, Gloria Steinem was already becoming a key voice in the women's movement through her reporting for *New York* magazine. But that year, her activism left the page in a momentous way. Though she was afraid of public speaking, Steinem did it anyway. That May, she testified at Senate hearings for the Equal Rights Amendment. "I have been refused service in public restaurants, ordered out of public gathering places and turned away from apartment rentals," she told her almost all-male audience. "All for the clearly stated, sole reason that I am a woman." At the Women's Strike for Equality on Aug. 26, the 50th anniversary of U.S. women's suffrage, Steinem spoke to some 20,000 in New York City. Her increasing dedication sparked her to launch a feminist platform: in 1971, she co-founded *Ms.* magazine.**

**With a remarkable ability to communicate the agenda she helped set, Steinem quickly evolved from journalist to the face of the women's movement—the headline speaker at countless protests; the messenger of a more equal, feminist future; and an indispensable force in reimagining the fate of American women for decades to come.**

***—Eliana Dockterman***

1971 | RADICAL THINKER

# *ANGELA DAVIS*

BY IBRAM X. KENDI

AN ACTIVIST. AN AUTHOR. A SCHOLAR. AN ABOLITIONIST. A legend, as revered by my generation of millennials as she is her own. She is Angela Y. Davis.

Davis opened 1971 with an American declaration of innocence heard around the country: "I am innocent of all charges which have been leveled against me by the state of California." The state, governed by Ronald Reagan, had charged Davis with capital crimes in connection with an armed courtroom takeover in August 1970 that left her friend Jonathan Jackson, two inmates and a judge dead in Marin County. Responding officers had shot these four people. But investigators accused Davis when they traced a gun used in the takeover to her. Davis smelled a setup and fled. She eluded would-be captors for two months before President Richard Nixon congratulated the FBI on its "capture of the dangerous terrorist Angela Davis" in October 1970.

In 1971, Davis became America's most famous "political prisoner" as she awaited trial. Defense committees in the U.S. and abroad shouted at demonstrations the chant of 1971, "Free Angela," about the woman John Lennon and Yoko Ono immortalized in song. The defense committees formed a broad interracial coalition of supporters who believed Nixon's America, not Davis, was America's Most Wanted. Her supporters charged that Nixon's America was terrorizing, imprisoning and trying to kill the movement, the organizations of antiracist, anticapitalist, antisexist and antiwar activists. Their freedom struggle in 1971 became the struggle for freedom of Angela Y. Davis, an incarcerated body Nixon's and Reagan's law-and-order America wanted dead.

She was on trial for her life. Millions of progressive Americans defended her like they were on trial for theirs.

After being acquitted of all charges in 1972, Davis moved from defended to defender, consistently resisting the structural causes of inequity and injustice as others took the bigoted way out and victim-blamed. For decades, she has unflinchingly defended black women, black prisoners, the black poor—and all women, all prisoners, all poor people—when few Americans would. She has defended America from the clutches of imperialism, exploitation, racism, sexism, poverty and incarceration when few Americans would.

In the final analysis, Davis managed to transform America's yearlong shouts of "Free Angela" in 1971 into Angela's lifetime of shouts of "Free America."

*Kendi is the author of* How to Be an Antiracist

1972

## Patsy Takemoto Mink

***Leveling the playing field***

Title IX, the civil rights law passed in 1972 that prevents sex discrimination in federally funded educational institutions, owes its existence largely to the efforts of Representative Patsy Takemoto Mink of Hawaii. Mink, who was rejected from more than a dozen medical schools because she was a woman and then faced discrimination as a practicing lawyer, devoted her life to advocating for gender equality and educational reform. The first woman of color and the first Asian-American woman elected to the House of Representatives, Mink served 12 terms in Congress and said she felt a responsibility not just to her constituents but also to women across the country.

In the nearly 50 years since its passage, Title IX has been used both to ensure that female athletes are given equal opportunities in sports and to protect students and staff from sexual assault and harassment. It also shields from retaliation those who report violations of the law. Mink was honored after her death in 2002 when Title IX was renamed the Patsy T. Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act. She was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. —*Cady Lang*

1973

## Jane Roe

*The right to choose*

*Roe v. Wade,* the Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion nationally, is in many ways ground zero for the tremendous gains women have made in the decades since. It also created a legal framework that would later be used to extend rights to LGBTQ people.

Known by the pseudonym Jane Roe, the plaintiff grew up poor, abused by those who were supposed to care for her. After she became pregnant with her third child, she connected with Sarah Weddington and Linda Coffee, lawyers looking to challenge abortion restrictions (she at one point fabricated a gang rape, believing that might legally entitle her to an abortion, but the allegation was not in the lawsuit). In the three years it took the case to reach the Supreme Court, she gave birth to a child she placed for adoption.

*Roe* built on earlier decisions legalizing contraception, and these newfound rights to plan wanted pregnancies and end unintended ones upended traditional gender roles. We know now that being able to choose when and whether to have children makes women more likely to finish their education, more financially stable and less likely to stay in abusive relationships. States with fewer abortion restrictions have lower rates of maternal and infant mortality.

The case galvanized the pro-life movement. When Jane Roe revealed herself to be Norma McCorvey in 1984, she was harassed; someone shot through her windows. McCorvey was an abortion-rights advocate for years before becoming "100% pro-life" in the '90s. She died in 2017. Today, with a historically conservative court, the right to safe abortion seems less secure than ever, even as women continue to reap *Roe*'s benefits. *—Jill Filipovic*

*Filipovic is the author of* The H-Spot: The Feminist Pursuit of Happiness

1974

## Lindy Boggs

*Securing financial freedom*

**Lindy Boggs came to Washington as a wife. She left it half a century later with a legacy all her own, as an influential Congresswoman who had championed women's economic freedom—and who had another round yet to go, becoming ambassador to the Vatican at age 81.**

**Boggs, born on a sugar plantation in Louisiana, moved to the nation's capital in 1941 after her husband Hale Boggs was elected to Congress; when he disappeared in a plane crash in 1972, she won his seat in a special election. Two years later, when the House banking committee was considering an amendment to a bill that would have banned discrimination in lending on the basis of race, age or veteran status, Boggs noted that sex and marital status weren't included. At the time, it was legal in the U.S.—and not uncommon—for banks to refuse to issue credit cards to women on their own economic merit; a husband's signature was what mattered. Boggs tweaked the bill, made new copies of it herself and handed it out to her colleagues. In its final form, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 ensured that women would be able to get loans and credit cards, and at the same interest rates given to men of similar financial status. From her seat on the House Appropriations Committee, Boggs also pushed for equal pay for government jobs and access to government business contracts. Boggs helped win American women a new economic independence: power not as wives, but as people. *—Alana Semuels***



ROE: BILL JANSCHA—AP; BOGGS: THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY IMAGES

# Turnkey Solutions to Accelerate Gender Equality

**Achieving the UN's Gender Equality Goal** by 2030 will require leveraging the private sector to achieve global impact at scale. Corporations and governments are looking for turnkey solutions that can accelerate measurable impact across their markets. For more than 10 years **WEConnect International**, a global NGO working with partners on the ground in 45 countries, has supported over 100 global titans to find and develop women-owned suppliers to compete for their business.

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# *'THE SEARCH FOR HUMAN FREEDOM CAN NEVER BE COMPLETE WITHOUT FREEDOM FOR WOMEN.'*

*— BETTY FORD*

## American Women

**1975** PERSON OF THE YEAR | MAKING WAVES

The cover of TIME's Jan. 5, 1976, issue was unprecedented. It featured a dozen "Women of the Year" who symbolized ascent in myriad realms: literature, the military, religion, education, the White House, the statehouse, the Cabinet, Congress, sports, law, journalism and labor. "Enough U.S. women have so deliberately taken possession of their lives," the story proclaimed, "that the event is spiritually equivalent to the discovery of a new continent." *—Katy Steinmetz*

FROM LEFT: SUSAN BROWNMILLER, KATHLEEN M. BYERLY, THE REV. ALISON CHEEK, JILL CONWAY, BETTY FORD, ELLA GRASSO, CARLA HILLS, BARBARA JORDAN, BILLIE JEAN KING, SUSIE SHARP, CAROL SUTTON, ADDIE WYATT

FROM LEFT: SUZANNE VLAMIS—AP; U.S. MILITARY; BOB DAUGHERTY—AP; ALISON SHAW/SMITH COLLEGE ARCHIVES; GERALD R. FORD PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY/TRIBUNE NEWS SERVICE/GETTY IMAGES; BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES; COURTESY GERALD R. FORD PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY; WILFREDO LEE—AP; ALLSPORT UK/GETTY IMAGES; NEWS & OBSERVER/AP; COURIER JOURNAL/AP; CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE RECORDS

This is the moment they learned about the gender pay gap.

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1976

## Indira Gandhi

*Imperious leader*

In 1976, the "Empress of India" had become India's great authoritarian. She was the daughter of the nation's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, the constitutional democrat who strained every sinew after independence from Britain to establish liberal democracy. But his only child was different.

She started off as an ingenue, jeered at as a "dumb doll." Party bosses propped up Nehru's daughter because they thought she would be their puppet. Instead she split her party, yoking a tide of pro-poor populism to storm to a massive election victory in 1971. She became the first Prime Minister to win a decisive victory over Pakistan in the Bangladesh Liberation War.

But in her mammoth victory lay the seeds of paranoid insecurity, and she proved to be as ruthless as she was charismatic. By 1975, as a result of economic instability, her government was swamped by an avalanche of street protests, and after her election was deemed invalid, she declared an emergency. On the night of June 25, 1975, the electricity was suddenly shut off in Delhi's newspaper offices.

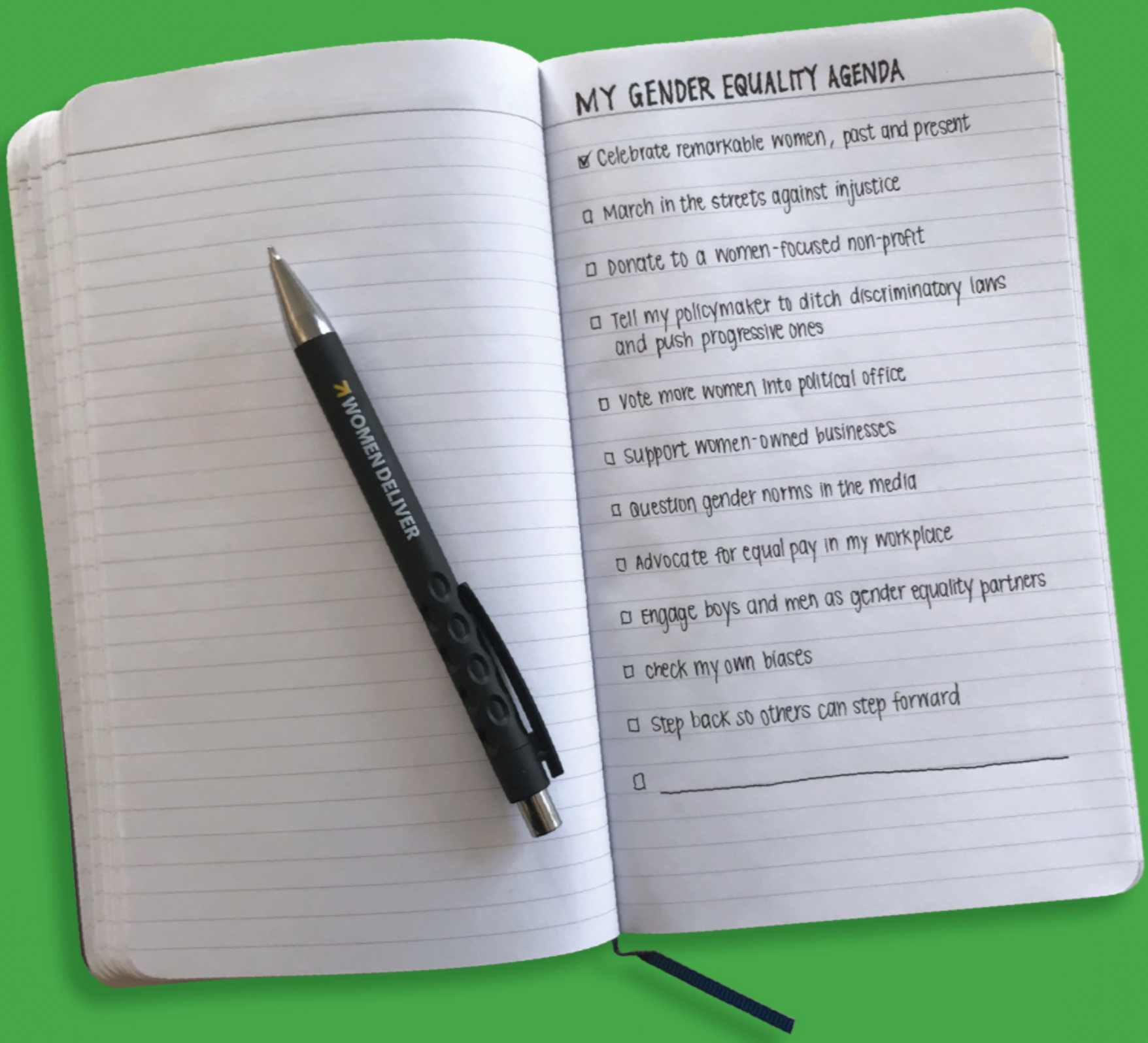
She quickly ripped apart her father's democracy and amended India's constitution to give herself enormous powers. She jailed political opponents, muzzled the press and extinguished fundamental rights across the country. By 1976, she would scorn democratic processes to stamp out rivals, dismissing party colleagues and state leaders at will. That year, her government rammed through the 42nd Amendment arrogating supreme powers to Parliament. She instituted "family rule" in her party with the ascendance of her son Sanjay. She also oversaw a remorseless slum-clearance drive in Delhi and forcible-sterilization campaigns across India.

*—Sagarika Ghose*

*Ghose is the author of* Indira: India's Most Powerful Prime Minister

GANDHI, AS PRIME MINISTER IN 1976

HENRI BUREAU—SYGMA/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

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WOMEN DELIVER

1977 | FIGHTING FOR ACCESS

# JUDITH HEUMANN

BY ABIGAIL ABRAMS

HEUMANN, CENTER, WITH FELLOW ACTIVISTS OUTSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE IN APRIL 1977

ORGANIZATIONS DEDICATED TO HELPING PEOPLE WITH DISabilities have existed since at least the 1800s, but as the civil rights movement gained momentum in the 1960s, disability activists demanded equal treatment for their communities too.

Judith Heumann, who had polio as a baby and uses a wheelchair, started her activism early. After graduating from college, she applied for a teaching license but was rejected by the New York City board of education, which called her a fire hazard. Heumann sued for discrimination and won in a landmark case, becoming the first wheelchair user to teach in the city's schools. That victory put Heumann in the spotlight. She founded her own disability-rights group in 1970 and became an advocate for the independent-living movement.

She successfully pushed Richard Nixon to sign the first federal civil rights legislation for disabled people. But when regulations for the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 were stalled, Heumann helped organize more than 100 disabled activists to stage a sit-in, named for the law's section on disabilities, at a San Francisco federal building in 1977. The 504 Sit-in, which lasted 28 days, challenged the perception of people with disabilities as helpless or objects of pity. In Heumann's words: "We demonstrated to the entire nation that disabled people could take control over our own lives and take leadership in the struggle for equality." The 504 Sit-in accomplished its goal, and those protections laid the groundwork for the Americans with Disabilities Act. Heumann, who served in the Education and State departments of the Clinton and Obama administrations, has continued to advance the rights of disabled people around the world.

1978

## Lesley Brown

*Pioneering mother*

**When Lesley Brown gave birth to her daughter Louise in 1978, they called her a "test-tube baby." Today, we know the technique Brown pioneered—one that has helped millions of couples have children despite fertility struggles—as in vitro fertilization, or IVF. Brown and her husband volunteered to try the experimental procedure after a nearly decade-long effort to conceive. Experts did not know if the method would work, and the American public was wary, but Brown had a healthy pregnancy on her first try. When she died 34 years later, the executive director of the clinic where she was treated praised her "incredible leap into the unknown"—which would, over time, reshape our notions of who gets to have a baby, and when. *—Jamie Ducharme***

1979

## Tu Youyou

*Curing malaria*

Tu Youyou's first triumph over an infectious disease was her recovery from tuberculosis as a teenager, an experience that inspired her to pursue a career in medicine. History will remember her for her role in discovering artemisinin, a drug that has prevented millions of deaths from malaria. Artemisinin is derived from sweet wormwood, a plant used in traditional Chinese remedies. Tu has described her team's findings, published in English in 1979, as "a gift from traditional Chinese medicine to the world." The discovery earned her a Nobel Prize and won humanity important ground in the battle against one of history's deadliest diseases. *—Melinda Gates*

*Gates is co-chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation*



HEUMANN: HOLLYNN D'LIL/BECOMING REAL IN 24 DAYS; BROWN: BRIAN BOULD—DAILY MAIL; TU: PAUL U. UNSCHULD

PLAN INTERNATIONAL

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1980

## Anna Walentynowicz

*Mother of Polish independence*

**Poland's escape from Soviet rule began with Solidarity, a movement for the rights of workers that Anna Walentynowicz, a welder and crane operator, helped create in 1980. In retaliation for her activism, she was fired that year from the Lenin Shipyard. Her colleagues went on strike to get her job back, sparking a mass resistance that culminated in the Gdansk Agreement, which allowed the first free-trade union in communist Eastern Europe. Within a year, the Solidarity union had nearly 10 million members, with Walentynowicz as one of its leaders. The triumph in Gdansk precipitated the fall of communism, a decade later. It also led generations of Poles to see Walentynowicz as the mother of their independence.** ***—Simon Shuster***

1981

## Nawal El Saadawi

*For a more equal Egypt*

For Egyptian psychiatrist, feminist and novelist Nawal El Saadawi, prison was a rebirth. The 1972 publication of her fundamental work of feminist criticism, *Women and Sex,* had cemented her reputation as a fearless commentator on women's rights in Egypt. In 1981, she was jailed for "crimes against the state" for her outspoken views, including her criticism of female circumcision. For El Saadawi, the sentence was a clear demonstration of the link between political power and patriarchy. With eyebrow pencil and a roll of toilet paper, she wrote of her experience: *Memoirs From the Women's Prison,* published in 1983, became the basis of a continued body of work that has shaped the discourse on women's liberation in the Arab world. *—Aryn Baker*

THATCHER ABOARD H.M.S. *HERMES* AFTER ITS RETURN FROM THE FALKLANDS WAR IN 1982

1982 | IRON LADY

# *MARGARET THATCHER*

BY BILLY PERRIGO

THE DECADES AFTER THE SECOND World War were a chastening time for the U.K. The once mighty British Empire lost most of its colonies, and despite steadily rising living standards, the British economy was no longer the global steam engine it had once been.

So in 1982, when Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher led a successful military campaign to defend one of the last of Britain's overseas outposts, the Falkland Islands, from an Argentine attack, it stirred a swell of patriotism, reigniting the wartime spirit, especially for her Conservative Party's elderly voters. The following year those voters rewarded Thatcher with a massive parliamentary majority, which she used to unleash a free-market revolution. She slashed the size of the British state, deregulated the economy, sold off dozens of state-owned industries and cut taxes with the proceeds. Many became rich as a result of her reforms, but inequality increased substantially too.

The rift she created in British society still cuts deep. But nobody disputes her position as one of Britain's most influential Prime Ministers of the 20th century.

1983

## Françoise Barré-Sinoussi

*Discovering HIV*

Françoise Barré-Sinoussi didn't plan on becoming a scientist; she fell into her career as a virologist only after volunteering at the Pasteur Institute in her hometown of Paris. She ended up earning a Ph.D. there and went on to play a pivotal role in identifying the human immunodeficiency virus, or HIV, responsible for AIDS. In 1983, with Luc Montagnier, she extracted the virus from the swollen lymph nodes of patients suffering from the then mysterious illness, and discovered it was a previously unknown retrovirus that attacked human immune cells.

She shared the Nobel Prize in 2008 for her work, which led to the development of life-changing anti-HIV drugs that have saved millions of lives. But Barré-Sinoussi knows her work isn't done. Nearly 40 years after her discovery, 38 million people around the world are still living with HIV. Not all of them have access to medications, and even if they do, they need to take them for life. So she continues to search for new ways to prevent and control HIV. "We cannot cure HIV yet," she told TIME in 2014. "The epidemic is not over, and the treatments are not perfect. There has been a lot of progress, but it's not enough." *—Alice Park*

BARRÉ-SINOUSSI, JEAN-CLAUDE CHERMANN AND MONTAGNIER AT THE PASTEUR INSTITUTE

1984

## bell hooks

*Expanding feminism*

**Gloria Jean Watkins, who writes under the name bell hooks, turned 18 in 1970. That year, Toni Cade Bambara's anthology *The Black Woman* featured emerging black women whose voices would shift the way America thought about gender, race and class, Alice Walker and Toni Morrison among them. Those novelists, along with playwright Ntozake Shange and essayists Paule Marshall and Michele Wallace, spent the decade turning the literary world inside out. hooks' work embodies the fullness of these thinkers who influenced her but is singular in the way it articulates a complicated set of intersecting oppressions. In 1984's *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, she critiqued the way mainstream feminism sidelines women of color. "Throughout the work my thoughts have been shaped by the conviction that feminism must become a mass based political movement if it is to have a revolutionary, transformative impact on society," she wrote.**

**If hooks had believed in behaving, she would have stayed in academia. Instead, she became that rare rock star of a public intellectual who reaches wide by being accessible. For generations of black girls, hooks has been a rite of passage. I read her seminal essay collection *Ain't I a Woman* as a film student reading Laura Mulvey's essays about the male gaze and writing about NWA's misogyny. Like a superfan, I began publishing my name in lowercase. Today, as we push back against those who wish to stymie progress on every front, the clear way she unpacks what it means to be a black feminist, a praxis that requires we take on class and race and gender, could not be more important. *—dream hampton***

***hampton is a writer and an award-winning filmmaker***



BARRÉ-SINOUSSI: SYGMA/GETTY IMAGES; HOOKS: MONTIKAMOSS—WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

ACCELERATING

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As a result of Mikey's leadership, and a recent commitment from Bill Gates, funding for Part the Cloud has surpassed $60 million — and continues to grow.

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1985 | REVITALIZING NATIVE COMMUNITIES

# WILMA MANKILLER

BY ADRIENNE KEENE

IN 1985, WILMA MANKILLER PAVED THE WAY FOR FEMALE leadership in America when she became the first woman to be Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, the largest tribe in the U.S., a role she held for a decade, ushering in an era of prosperity, cultural revitalization and self-governance for Cherokee people.

Mankiller was born in 1945 in Tahlequah, Okla., on rural family land. In the 1950s, federal relocation programs that attempted assimilation by moving Native people into cities sent her family to San Francisco. They lived in urban poverty and faced discrimination and racism, but were also surrounded by a strong, political and diverse indigenous community, which formed a foundation for Mankiller's feminism and belief in the power of Native communities to support and govern themselves.

In 1977, she moved back to Oklahoma with her children and lived without running water or electricity on her family land. Using her knowledge of Native sovereignty, political history and federal Indian law, Mankiller worked for the tribe, embodying the Cherokee concept of *gadugi*—collective community work toward a common goal.

When Ross Swimmer sought a running mate in the 1983 Cherokee Nation election, he selected Mankiller despite her relatively recent return to the Oklahoma community. They overcame hesitancy and sexism from voters, and won. In 1985, Swimmer was tapped for a role in the federal government and Mankiller took over as Principal Chief. Her policies were progressive; she saw the interconnectedness of economic growth and social programs, putting revenue from casinos and other tribal economic ventures back into health clinics, job training and other self-determination initiatives. Mankiller won two more terms as Principal Chief before deciding not to run for re-election in 1995 because of poor health. During her time as chief, tribal enrollment grew, infant mortality dropped and employment rates doubled.

Mankiller died in 2010, leaving a legacy of cultural pride. "I want to be remembered as the person who helped us restore faith in ourselves," she once said. Indeed, her policies on health care, education and self-governance for the Cherokee Nation provided a model that would be followed by other tribal nations, and the U.S.

*Keene is an assistant professor of American studies and ethnic studies at Brown University, and author of the blog Native Appropriations*

1986 PERSON OF THE YEAR

## Corazon Aquino

***Democracy's defender***

There was a mythic quality to Corazon Aquino's ascent. Well-born and a devout Catholic, she was a supportive wife to the Philippines' most prominent critic of kleptocratic dictator Ferdinand Marcos, and seemingly harbored no political ambitions until her husband's murder in 1983. She took over as leader of the opposition and won the presidency in 1986 after ordinary people gathered to protect soldiers who refused to stuff ballot boxes. TIME named her Woman of the Year. Filipinos went with "Mother of Democracy."

That democracy has endured on the archipelago. So have its power structures: a tradition of elite rule helped her son Benigno Aquino III to a widely admired term as President. And his coarse, swaggering successor, Rodrigo Duterte, daily demonstrates both the machismo Corazon Aquino overcame, and the value of the principled civility she modeled.

*—Karl Vick*



MANKILLER: AP; AQUINO: VAL RODRIGUEZ—AP

# Smruti, Queen of All She Surveys

Age 2, India

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1987 | THE PEOPLE'S PRINCESS

# DIANA, PRINCESS OF WALES

BY TINA BROWN

IT'S EASY TO FORGET TODAY WHAT PARIAHS PEOPLE WITH AIDS were in the year 1987. Ignorance, superstition and an aura of sexual seediness swirled around those afflicted, their cause of death noted in obituary columns with a vague lack of specifics that protected their relatives from opprobrium.

The 26-year-old Princess of Wales lived with the specter of AIDS every day. In the loneliness of her failing marriage to Prince Charles, gay men were the bedrock of her private world: fashion designers, ballet dancers, art dealers and numerous members of the palace staff. They sympathized with her, escorted her, lightened her load. It pained her to watch them sicken and die.

In April 1987, Middlesex Hospital invited her to open the first ward in the U.K. dedicated to the treatment of HIV/AIDS. Accepting the invitation was the kind of socially progressive statement that private secretaries usually steered their principals to avoid. Diana was intensely nervous, even though she unhesitatingly agreed to do it. She knew it was the chance to dispel the stigma surrounding the disease. With her instinctive understanding of the power of gesture, she resolved not only to open the new ward but to shake the hands of 12 male patients without gloves.

Such was the fear of ignominy that only one patient, a 32-year-old named Ivan Cohen, agreed to be photographed with Diana, and only on condition that the picture be taken from behind. She extended her hand. The cameras rolled. A broken taboo ricocheted round the world: Diana, exuding compassion and confidence, clasping the terminally ill AIDS patient's hand in hers. For the next decade, she continued her visits to hospitals and bedsides. A nurse present at Diana's historic original visit told the BBC, "If a royal was allowed to go in and shake a patient's hands, somebody at the bus stop or the supermarket could do the same. That really educated people."

That iconic moment also had a profound impact on Diana. It clarified what her royal status meant—a new kind of global power. Whatever its frustrations, being the Princess of Wales gave her the ability to change lives and to expand tolerance. She saw what could happen when humanitarian concern is connected with the global media. Celebrities have tried to emulate her ever since.

*Brown is the author of* The Diana Chronicles

GRIFFITH JOYNER CELEBRATES HER 200-M WORLD RECORD AT THE 1988 OLYMPICS

1988

## Florence Griffith Joyner

*World's fastest woman*

**Known by a single name—Flo-Jo—Florence Griffith Joyner remains the fastest woman in history. At the 1988 U.S. Olympic trials in Indianapolis, Griffith Joyner ran the 100 m in 10.49 sec., a world record that still stands. "Cannot be," an announcer said after the race. "No one can run that fast." At the Seoul Olympics that September, Griffith Joyner won gold in the 100 m, 200 m and 4 x 100 relay, and set a 200-m world record of 21.34 sec. that's yet to be broken.**

**Her fashion also drew attention: she wore one-legged racing suits and long, brightly painted fingernails, flouting the idea that feminine fashion and sports don't mix. "Conventional is not for me," she once said.**

**In the track world, where the use of performance-enhancing drugs is prevalent, Griffith Joyner's records will forever be viewed by some with suspicion. One track runner publicly declared that he sold Griffith Joyner human growth hormone. She vehemently denied it.**

**But Flo-Jo died—young, at 38, after an epileptic seizure in 1998—an unforgettable icon. "We were dazzled by her speed," President Bill Clinton said, "humbled by her talent and captivated by her style." —*Sean Gregory***



DIANA: JOHN REDMAN—AP; GRIFFITH JOYNER: PA IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

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1989 | PROVOCATEUR

# MADONNA

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

BY 1989, MADONNA, THE SCRAPPY PERformer born Madonna Louise Ciccone, was already a superstar: she'd whirled onto the landscape, in a torn-up T-shirt and two wrists' worth of rubber bracelets, just as America was awakening to the AIDS crisis, and for young people became a symbol of determination and self-invention. She had defied our expectations so many times. How many surprises could she have left up her lace sleeves?

The bombshell answer came in the form of a hymn of joyous carnality, "Like a Prayer," the lead single and title track of her fourth studio album. In the video, Madonna—sending a marvelously mixed message of purity and seduction in a 1950s-style slip, a discreet cross sparkling around her neck—spreads her gospel of joy and erotic ardor within the sacred confines of a country church. A statue of a saint, presumably Martin de Porres—he's a black man locked in his own little cage, a not-so-metaphorical prison—comes to life and kisses her gently on the forehead. This could be the start of a mutual seduction, but he leaves her. She seizes a dagger and wraps her fingers around the blade, though the resulting cuts aren't the normal kind: stigmata flower in the palms of her hands like two bloody pennies.

Pepsi had used "Like a Prayer"—accompanied by tamer imagery—in a commercial. But the video cast the song in a new light, and religious groups were enraged. Pepsi canceled her contract in response. Yet Madonna's allegedly blasphemous act of creation carried her all the way to the bank: "Like a Prayer" spent three weeks at No. 1 on the *Billboard* Hot 100, and the album on which it appeared went on to sell more than 15 million copies. Even more significantly, this close-to-perfect song marked Madonna as an artist in it for the long haul, one whose marriage of provocation and pop would inspire future generations to shape their careers in her image. She couldn't be underestimated or circumscribed, least of all by a multibillion-dollar corporation. She was a material girl, always, but only on her own terms.

MADONNA, PHOTOGRAPHED IN SAN PEDRO, CALIF., IN DECEMBER 1989

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1990

## Aung San Suu Kyi

*Arrested hope*

**A revolutionary spirit engulfed Myanmar in the summer of 1988. The daughter of Aung San, the country's independence hero, caught the fever. Aung San Suu Kyi joined the opposition, lending her status as political royalty to the fight against the military dictatorship. The uprising ended in bloodshed; the military killed thousands and put the upstart National League for Democracy (NLD) activists in prison or, in Aung San Suu Kyi's case, under house arrest. But her fight for democracy persisted. In 1990, the NLD won a landslide in an election swiftly invalidated by the junta. It would be another 22 years, 15 of them spent in confinement, before Aung San Suu Kyi could claim a seat in parliament.**

**Then in 2015, Myanmar's first civilian government in more than half a century took power with Aung San Suu Kyi at the helm. She became the de facto head of state in the newly crafted role of state counselor. But the Nobel Peace Prize laureate soon disappointed her supporters abroad when her Administration, which still shares power with the military, defended the army's brutal campaign against the Rohingya Muslim minority. In December 2019, Aung San Suu Kyi personally traveled to the International Court of Justice at the Hague to deny allegations of genocide. Her rejection of the claims delighted her domestic base, but further cemented her descent from democratic icon to international pariah.**

***—Laignee Barron***

1991 | COURAGE TO SPEAK

## *ANITA HILL*

BY TESSA BERENSON

AS THE CHORUS OF THE #METOO MOVEMENT REACHED a crescendo, with women everywhere speaking out about abuse they had endured at the hands of powerful men, one voice from the past seemed to echo into the present.

When Anita Hill testified before Congress in 1991 and accused Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment, she did so nearly three decades before the start of the movement that might have supported her, and spoke alone as a black woman in front of an all-white, all-male Senate Judiciary Committee. Poised in her delivery, the attorney detailed ways she said Thomas had harassed her when he was her supervisor at two government agencies. But with a cynical reception from the committee and a forceful denial from Thomas, he was confirmed.

HILL IS SWORN IN BEFORE TESTIFYING IN FRONT OF THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE IN 1991

Even so, Hill's impact was profound: the month after her testimony, Congress passed a law extending the rights of sexual-harassment victims. And the following year, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission received a 50% increase in sexual-harassment complaints than it had the year before. Hill continued her career as an author, commentator and professor, focusing on equality.

Her story was drawn back into the debate in 2018, when Christine Blasey Ford accused Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh of sexually assaulting her when they were teens. Like Thomas, Kavanaugh denied it and was confirmed, stirring up the same lasting questions about gender and power. But as more women come forward and push for change, Hill's courageous voice resounds.

1992

## Sinead O'Connor

***Prescient messenger***

On Oct. 3, 1992, Sinead O'Connor turned her *Saturday Night Live* performance into a fierce political statement. Eyes ablaze, voice quaking with rage, O'Connor ripped apart a photograph of Pope John Paul II, after replacing a lyric from Bob Marley's "War" with the words *child abuse*. A few weeks later, she revealed that as a teen she had suffered abuse at the hands of the Catholic Church. She was still widely condemned—and her career took a significant blow. In 2010, O'Connor offered an explanation: "I wanted to force a conversation where there was a need for one; that is part of being an artist."

Today, entertainers often speak out about their personal experiences; back then, it was less common. As an Irishwoman, O'Connor was aware of the danger of criticizing a powerful entity like the church. She took that risk in order to publicly demand justice for children who were sexually abused by members of the clergy. Nine years after her performance, Pope John Paul II acknowledged and apologized for the church's long history of sexual abuse. In recent years, O'Connor has been vocal about her mental-health struggles, once again laying herself bare for the world. She remains an example of the power of provoking necessary, if unpopular, conversations—and the courage it takes to do so. *—Olivia Wilde*

*Wilde is a director and actor*

MORRISON ACCEPTS THE NOBEL PRIZE IN LITERATURE ON DEC. 10, 1993

1993

## Toni Morrison

*Great American storyteller*

"We die. That may be the meaning of life. But we do language. That may be the measure of our lives." Toni Morrison spoke these words when she won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1993, becoming the first black woman so honored. Not many people can squeeze so much meaning into just a few sentences, but Morrison, an icon of storytelling, did it all the time.

In books like *The Bluest Eye* (1970), *Sula* (1973), *Song of Solomon* (1977) and *Beloved* (1987), she used magical realism and poetic language to interrogate and explore the black experience and the aftershocks of generational trauma. In both fiction and nonfiction, Morrison wasn't afraid to hold a mirror up to our society—even if we didn't like the reflection staring back at us. She wrote from varying perspectives, employing nonlinear structures and stream-of-consciousness monologues that relayed her tremendous capacity for empathy.

Morrison's words force us to re-examine what we think to be true about ourselves. When reading them, I feel shaken one moment and completely seen the next. Her work makes me think of my grandmother. It makes me want to know more about my grandmother's grandmother. Morrison has always made me proud to be a black woman. She was a superhero who looked like the women who guided and nurtured our families for generations. She was one of us.

I'm glad we weren't afraid to worship at her feet while she was still here. My only wish is that we could've kneeled down at them for a little bit longer.
*—Lena Waithe*

*Waithe is an Emmy-winning writer, producer and actor*

1994

## Joycelyn Elders

*Challenging public-health taboos*

**Raised in a poor Arkansas farming family, Joycelyn Elders didn't visit a doctor until she was 16 years old. But she went to medical school and, in 1993, became the first African American and the second woman to be named U.S. Surgeon General. Elders kept pushing boundaries while in office, advocating for robust sex education and studies on drug legalization—and drawing critics. Not even then President Bill Clinton was ready for her progressive views on sexuality—he asked her to resign in 1994, after she argued masturbation should be discussed in school sex ed. Today, many of her views are more mainstream. Recently, the now 86-year-old doctor has adopted a new cause: advocating for more black physicians in the medical field. *—Jamie Ducharme***

1995

## Sadako Ogata

*Transforming the lives of refugees*

Sadako Ogata was settling in as the head of UNHCR in 1991 when more than a million Iraqi Kurds fled the fallout of the Gulf War. She jumped onto a helicopter to the Iraq-Turkey border to hear firsthand accounts and promised rapid aid.

Nicknamed "the diminutive giant," Ogata—who stood under 5 ft. tall—gained a reputation as a formidable negotiator. The only Japanese citizen and first woman to lead the UNHCR, she was re-elected three times and boldly expanded the agency's mandate to include internally displaced persons. Throughout the 1990s, which she called the "turbulent decade" of her tenure, she navigated crises in places from Afghanistan to the Balkans to Rwanda, helping to protect some of the world's most vulnerable. *—Laignee Barron*



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## Need more antioxidants in your corner?

POM Wonderful 100% Pomegranate Juice is here to help you fight the free radicals that cause oxidative stress with 700 mg of polyphenol antioxidants per 8oz serving. Drink it daily. Feel it forever.

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1996 | CHANGEMAKER

# *RUTH BADER GINSBURG*

BY IRIN CARMON

IT'S HARD TO BELIEVE NOW THAT THERE WAS EVER A TIME when Ruth Bader Ginsburg was not known for her dissents. But for a stretch of 1996, the second woman appointed to the Supreme Court could imagine a triumphant future building on her work as visionary advocate in the 1970s—not just for women's liberation, as she often said, but for women's and men's liberation.

The prestigious Virginia Military Institute (VMI) still barred women, but when the case went to the Supreme Court, Ginsburg argued that everyone was harmed, and all stood to benefit. "If women are to be leaders in life and in the military, then men have got to become accustomed to taking commands from women," she said at oral argument, "and men will not become accustomed if women are not let in." Back in her ACLU days, on a quest to prove that gender discrimination violated the Constitution, she had represented not only women who broke glass ceilings but also men who were caregivers, each limited by the law as it stood. She had rarely convinced Justice William Rehnquist. In 1996, though, the conservative Justice joined a 7-1 decision requiring that women be admitted to VMI, helping Justice Ginsburg finish what attorney Ginsburg had started and establishing a major precedent.

The paradox of Ginsburg—reserved institutionalist arguing for radical constitutional change—seemed to resolve itself in the VMI victory. But as politics left her outnumbered on much that mattered to her, the Justice stiffened the resolve she had from the days she was blocked for being, as she put it, a "woman, a Jew and a mother." By age 80, in 2013, her righteous dissents would earn her fans around the world.

Today, Ginsburg is surprisingly optimistic. Her work has been at the pinnacle of the law, but she recognizes that, as she puts it, "change comes from a groundswell of ordinary people … And men have to be part of the effort."

*Carmon is the co-author of* Notorious RBG: The Life and Times of Ruth Bader Ginsburg



RON SACHS—GETTY IMAGES

TOMORROW

Thank you, TIME, for acknowledging the role women have always played in moving the world forward.

Nasdaq. Rewrite Tomorrow.

Nasdaq

# *'NEVER FOLLOW SOMEONE ELSE'S PATH, UNLESS YOU'RE IN THE WOODS AND YOU'RE LOST AND YOU SEE A PATH.'*

## Ellen DeGeneres

**1997** | DARING TO BE REAL

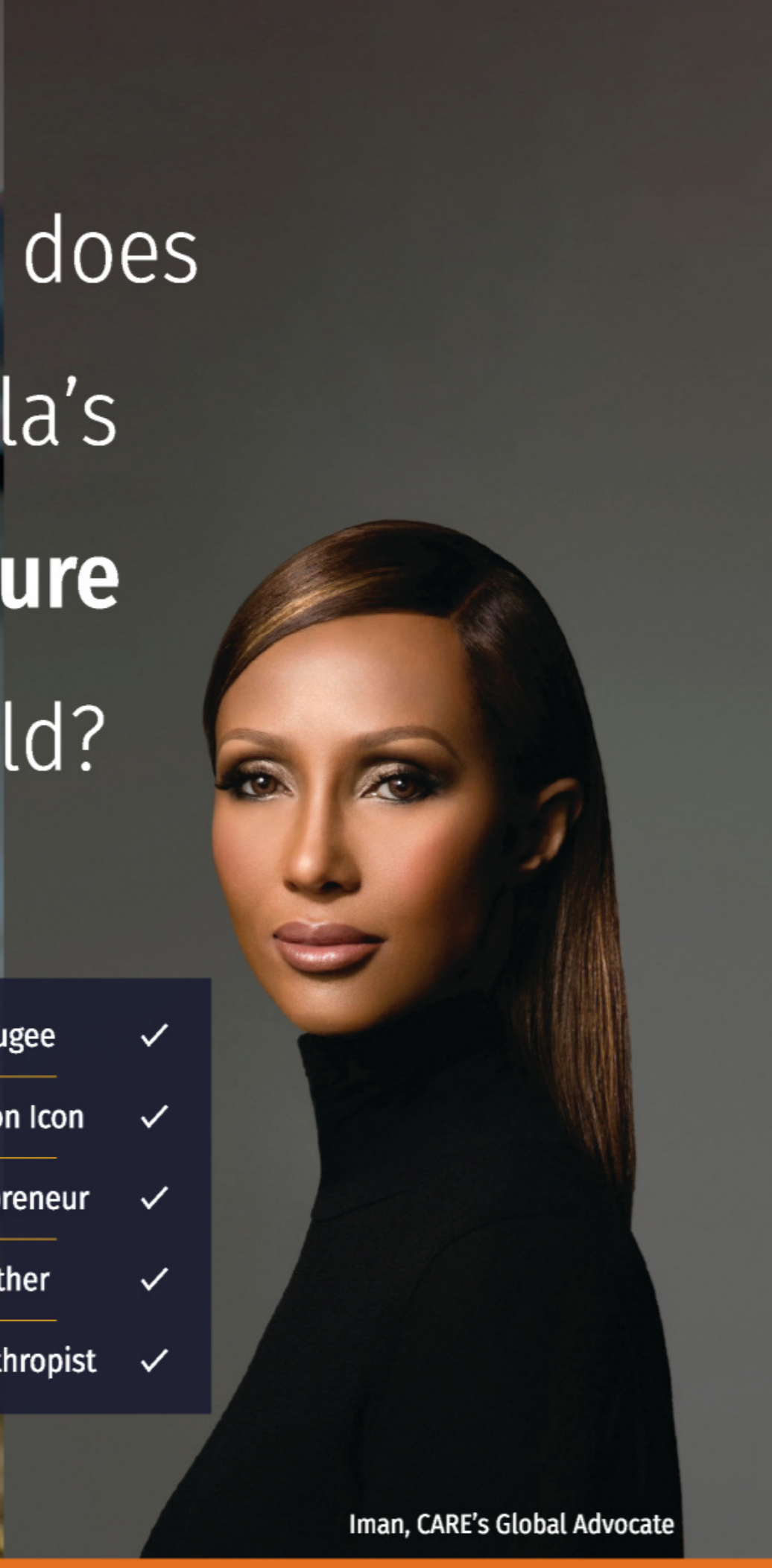
Comedian Ellen DeGeneres appeared on the cover of TIME in 1997 along with three seismic words: "Yep, I'm gay." The lead character on her sitcom, *Ellen,* came out at the same time, making DeGeneres the first to play a gay lead on American network TV. It was an enormous risk. At the time, polls showed more than half of Americans believed same-sex relations were "always wrong." But the risk paid off, providing generations of LGBTQ people with a new sense of possibility. —*Katy Steinmetz*

WALT DISNEY TELEVISION/GETTY IMAGES

# What does Laila's **future** hold?

Laila, Rohingya refugee

| | |
|---|---|
| ✓ | Refugee ✓ |
| ? | Fashion Icon ✓ |
| ? | Entrepreneur ✓ |
| ? | Mother ✓ |
| ? | Philanthropist ✓ |



Iman, CARE's Global Advocate

**Fashion icon Iman was just 16 years old when her family fled Somalia.** She had never worked, never left home — and overnight — she became a refugee. Thankfully, the help of aid organizations like CARE enabled Iman and her family to rebuild their lives. **Now Iman is CARE's first ever global advocate** working alongside the organization to advocate on behalf of vulnerable women and girls around the world.

When you **FIGHT** WITH **CARE®**, you fight for women and girls everywhere.
**Join us at care.org.**

AMERICANS CARE 75 YEARS

care

1998

## J.K. Rowling

*Literary phenomenon*

In the fall of 1998, *Harry Potter* crossed the Atlantic. The wizarding world imagined by author J.K. Rowling already had a foothold in Europe: the release of *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* in the U.K. that July made it the first children's book to top the British hardback best-seller list. Buoyed by the series' success and critical acclaim across the pond, the first *Harry Potter* book debuted stateside in September to enthusiastic reviews. Before year's end, Warner Bros. had secured the film rights, and the boy wizard was on his way to becoming a globally recognized brand. Two decades later, authors who cite Rowling as a creative influence—from Rick Riordan to Tomi Adeyemi—are power players in their own right, and the publishing industry has been transformed by Rowling's unlikely rise. The billions of dollars *Harry Potter* made in bookstores and at the box office resulted in a surge in similar fare, from *Twilight* to *The Hunger Games*. Melissa Anelli, author of *Harry, a History,* says the series proved to publishers that young audiences are "not just willing to read a book, but would follow the stories they loved to the end of the earth"—and thus, that young-adult literature is worth serious investment. *—Cate Matthews*

1999

## Madeleine Albright

*Diplomatic force*

**Armed with only an academic's intellect and a diplomat's toolbox, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright outmaneuvered the post–Cold War Russians, members of NATO and even some in her own government to lead the effort to bring an end to a ghastly campaign against ethnic Albanians in Slobodan Milosevic's Kosovo. Her critics and boosters alike had a name for it: Madeleine's War.**

**The episode marked the high-water mark of American humanitarian intervention in the post-Soviet world. Albright worked the phones and her Air Force jet to hold together the NATO alliance to build pressure on Moscow and to avoid even the slightest of differences among allies. When possible, she employed her counterpart's native tongue because, after all, she speaks six languages.**

**In the end, Moscow acquiesced to NATO's stepping in to launch a "humanitarian war," and Milosevic backed down. For Albright, the mission had an added personal element: as a child, she fled the regimes of Adolf Hitler and, later, Joseph Stalin. She already had seen what unchecked regimes could accomplish—and also what Americans at their best could. *—Philip Elliott***



ROWLING: NEIL WILDER—CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES; ALBRIGHT: DOUGLAS GRAHAM—CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES

ADVERTISEMENT

# WITH CLEAN WATER, SHE CAN SOAR

The global water crisis hits women and girls the hardest. Imagine what will happen when 25 million get access to clean water by 2030.

*Eight-year-old Ireen with the women who will bring clean water to her community in Malawi. From left, Liddah Manyozo, Ireen, Mereena Mhone John, and Irene Chongwe.*

**Dirty water is a thief.**

Dirty water steals time, health, and income from families in the poorest countries, hitting women the hardest. Worldwide, women and children spend 200 million hours each day collecting water that they know may make their families sick. Girls suffer the most, often missing out on education. The long walk to collect water, and illnesses coming from contaminated sources, force girls to miss school, limiting their prospects for the future. Crushing the dreams that can transform a girl into the Woman of the Year.

Ireen is one of those girls. She spends her days walking for contaminated water. Right now, she has no choice. But Ireen is surrounded by strong women working to bring clean water to her community. It's why she can smile. Change is coming soon.

Mereena Mhone John, a World Vision water program manager in Malawi, is part of the change. She understands that clean water fuels development. Easy access to clean water means fewer diseases like diarrhea and cholera. When mothers have access to safe water, they can participate in World Vision's economic programs, put their kids back in school, and put nutritious food on the table.

Working alongside Mereena is Liddah Manyozo, a World Vision technical advisor for a team of drillers, and Irene Chongwe, a community champion of sanitation and hygiene. "We are like role models to Ireen," says Mereena. "She can have hope that she can make it."

Mereena, Liddah, and Irene are made even stronger by women in the United States like Dana Dornsife. With her husband, Dave, Dana has invested $115 million since 2010 to bring water to millions of girls like Ireen through World Vision.

Dana, a Strong Women Strong World ambassador, has seen firsthand the impact clean water has on girls and women. "The quickest way to empower a woman is to make sure she has clean water," she says. "And then, she can soar." Dana and hundreds of leading women philanthropists are dreaming big with World Vision. They know the next Woman of the Year may be walking down a dusty path right now, and that clean water is the fastest way to change her future.

And who knows? It could be Ireen.

World Vision reaches
1 new person with
clean water every

**10**

**seconds**

and will reach

**50**

**million**

people (half of them women and girls)

in

**47**

**countries**

by 2030

*Dana Dornsife*

World Vision

STRONG WOMEN
STRONG WORLD

worldvisionphilanthropy.org/women

2000

## Sandra Day O'Connor

*Deciding vote*

**The first woman to sit on the U.S. Supreme Court, Sandra Day O'Connor was known for a centrist pragmatism even as she often voted with the conservative bloc and waded into some of the most contentious issues during 25 years on the bench. The most politically provocative case of her tenure came in 2000, when the Supreme Court determined the presidential election. In a 5-4 split along ideological lines, with O'Connor joining the conservative majority, the court ruling resulted in George W. Bush's victory over Al Gore. The divisive decision tainted the Justices with accusations of partisanship and tested Americans' faith in their electoral system. —*Tessa Berenson***

2001

## Wangari Maathai

*Seeding a movement*

Wangari Maathai was the first woman in Central and East Africa to earn a Ph.D., but she learned the ways of the world by planting trees. In 1977, she founded the Green Belt Movement to teach peasant women livelihoods while reforesting urban areas. That wholesome pursuit was seen as a threat by Kenya's land-grabbing politicians, and in 2001, Maathai spent International Women's Day in jail, where she often found herself. But having found organic links between environmentalism, poverty reduction and democratic rights, she a year later won a Parliament seat with 98% of the vote. The Nobel Peace Prize followed in 2004. By the time of her death in 2011, Maathai had taken on palm-oil plantations in Southeast Asia, and her movement, with branches in 30 countries, had planted 50 million trees. *—Karl Vick*

2002 PERSON OF THE YEAR

## The Whistleblowers

*Standing for what's right*

Against the big personalities of politics and business, workaday people can seem inconsequential. But by 2002, three women made it clear that when dedicated to doing the right thing, anyone can make a difference. Cynthia Cooper alerted the audit committee of telecom giant WorldCom to one of the largest accounting frauds in history; Sherron Watkins warned then Enron CEO Kenneth Lay of an accounting hoax that concealed hundreds of millions of dollars in debt; Coleen Rowley detailed the FBI's failure to respond to warnings from her field office about a conspirator in the Sept. 11 attacks.

For their actions, the three whistleblowers were named TIME's Persons of the Year in 2002. "We don't feel like we are heroes," Cooper said then. Though the women told TIME that they were just doing their jobs, their actions had huge repercussions. Congress passed the Sarbanes-Oxley Act in 2002 to establish more robust financial regulations for public companies as a reaction to the accounting scandals at Enron and WorldCom. The FBI embarked on a yearslong reorganization. And at places like Cambridge Analytica and Uber, employees knew that speaking out against wrongs at giant organizations could have enormous impact.
*—Alana Semuels*

WILLIAMS CLINCHES HER FOURTH-ROUND VICTORY AT THE 2003 AUSTRALIAN OPEN

2003 | THE CHAMPION

# *SERENA WILLIAMS*

BY SEAN GREGORY

AFTER WINNING THE 2003 AUSTRALIAN OPEN, Serena Williams became just the fifth woman in tennis history to hold the titles of all four Grand Slam tournaments—the Australian Open, the French Open, Wimbledon and the U.S. Open—at the same time. She gave her feat an alliterative flourish that neatly spoke truth to her power: the Serena Slam. Williams even bested her closest confidante, older sister Venus, in the final of all four of those major championships. "I'd kind of like to be just like her," said Venus, at the time a four-time Grand Slam winner, after that Aussie Open final.

Williams was just 21 years old. If she'd peaked then, she would have earned accolades as an all-time great. But nearly two decades and 23 major titles—a record for the Open era—later, she has more clout than ever.

Her influence extends far beyond the baseline. Critics have called her racist names and tried to shame her for her muscular frame. But Williams has embraced her body, and her blackness, with the same force as one of her two-handed backhands: even her occasional outbursts at umpires spark national debates about decorum and double standards.

She's battled injuries and life-threatening illnesses, including a complicated delivery of her daughter Olympia in 2017. Months later, however, Williams returned to the women's tour, at 36, as the world's most famous working mom. She's since reached the finals of four major events, showing that women can embrace motherhood and a job as time-consuming and physically grueling as professional tennis.

In her decades of greatness, Williams has inspired a new generation of tennis talent, young women of color who, like her, dared to take up what's long been a lily-white sport. Rising stars Naomi Osaka, 22, and Coco Gauff, 15, idolized Williams. Gauff grew up in Florida with her poster on her wall. Williams has not only taken women's tennis to new heights. She has secured her legacy in the generations that will follow her.

WINFREY, DURING THE FAMOUS 'YOU GET A CAR' EPISODE

2004

## Oprah Winfrey

*Empire builder*

By the time Oprah Winfrey became the first black woman to make it onto the *Forbes* billionaire list, in 2003, she was already the most successful talk-show host in TV history and a producer, media mogul, actor, author and philanthropist of unparalleled cultural clout. But it wasn't until the following year, when she gave away Pontiacs to her entire studio audience, that she ascended to something like secular-saint status—despite facing some backlash over the hefty gift taxes recipients had to pay. "You get a car! You get a car! Everybody gets a car!" became shorthand for any modern miracle.

That Oprah magic has only grown since 2004. A recipient of accolades, from a Peabody to a Kennedy Center Honor, she gave a crucial early endorsement to Barack Obama. In 2011, she wrapped her 26-year-old talk show and launched cable network OWN; last fall saw the revival of her powerhouse book club as part of a multiyear Apple TV+ deal. She may never heed the call of pundits who wish she'd run for President. Yet when political discourse and pop culture so often cater to the lowest common denominator, Oprah's signature fusion of entertainment, education and social conscience remains a vital appeal to our best selves. *—Judy Berman*

2005 PERSON OF THE YEAR

## Melinda Gates

*Good samaritan*

There was a certain amount of muttering when Melinda Gates appeared alongside her husband Bill and U2 front man Bono as TIME's Persons of the Year in 2005. Wasn't she just a wife? A hobbyist spending the money her husband made? Did she really deserve this, even if the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation had, in the magazine's words, "spent the year giving more money away faster than anyone ever"? The years since have proved the mutterers mistaken, as Gates has become an ever more committed and shrewd philanthropist, embedding herself both in the field and in the data to make bold decisions not only to spend but also to invest. Yes, she has been half of a team, but over 20 years that team has given away more than $50 billion, and persuaded governments and other billionaires—hello, Warren Buffett!—to join them. In 2012, she realized family planning was key to improving women's lives, and spearheaded the Gates Foundation's funding of this area. Since then, contraceptives have been given to more than 20 million women who had none before. In 2005, TIME chose the cover trio for "making mercy smarter and hope strategic and then daring the rest of us to follow." Gates is still doing just that. *—Belinda Luscombe*

WINFREY: GEORGE BURNS—HARPO, INC.; GATES: JUSTIN SULLIVAN—GETTY IMAGES

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# STACK IT.
# BUILD IT.
# MIX IT UP.

2006

## Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

*A first for Africa*

After 14 years of civil war, Liberia was in shambles. Hospitals, schools and major infrastructure were destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of people had been displaced and at least 200,000 killed. Corruption was rife in the post-war transitional government. Into the breach stepped Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who campaigned for President on a platform of fixing the mess that the men before her had created. At her 2006 inauguration, she was lauded as the first woman to be elected head of state in a modern African country, engendering hopes not only for Liberia but also for a new generation of female leaders on the continent.

As a woman in a traditionally male environment, Sirleaf embraced her contradictory nicknames—that of Ma Ellen healing her damaged nation, and Liberia's Iron Lady. With an initial budget of only $80 million, Sirleaf rebuilt key infrastructure and ushered in an economic revival, helped by her savvy negotiation of nearly $5 billion in foreign debt relief. She maintained Liberia's peace, helped ease its pain and became a Nobel laureate in 2011.
But for all the international accolades, Sirleaf's presidency, which ended in 2018, is regarded with disappointment at home, where allegations of corruption and cronyism have tarnished her record. She appointed close family members to top government posts. During the 2014 Ebola outbreak, she sent military troops to quarantine a poor and heavily infected neighborhood in the capital, with bloody results. And she did not focus on empowering women or other female leaders; of the 19 candidates who ran to replace her, only one was a woman.

For all the expectations, and inevitable failures, she did achieve something unprecedented in 70 years of leadership by Liberian men: she stepped aside for someone else when her time in power was up. *—Aryn Baker*

SIRLEAF IN HER OFFICES IN MONROVIA, LIBERIA, IN 2006

< 2007

## Lilly Ledbetter

*Standing up for fair pay*

**Like millions of women, Lilly Ledbetter worked a demanding job to support her family. And, like millions of women, she was underpaid for it. In 1979, a Goodyear tire factory in Alabama hired her as an overnight supervisor, making her one of the first female managers at the plant. But after 19 years with the company, she received an anonymous tip: while she was earning $3,727 per month, men with her same title were making thousands more. After filing a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1998, Ledbetter was awarded more than $3.5 million in damages. But the tire giant appealed, and the verdict was reversed.**

**In a 2007 decision, the Supreme Court ruled 5-4 that Ledbetter had to report discrimination within 180 days of when the prejudiced salary decision was made—impossible to do if you're unaware of the discrepancy. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg wrote a strongly worded dissent, and Congress listened, passing the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act in 2009. Now, the 180-day statute of limitations resets with each new paycheck an employee claims reflects discrimination—essential in a society where women are paid an average of 82¢ for every dollar earned by men. —*Abby Vesoulis***

2008 >

## Michelle Obama

*Expanding the American Dream*

Michelle Obama spent 2008 campaigning for her husband Barack, experiencing a level of scrutiny that was undeniably linked to her race and would persist for years to come. That August, she delivered a stirring address at the Democratic National Convention in which she talked about the "improbable journey" from her working-class Chicago upbringing to that very stage. Speaking of her young daughters, she shared that "their future—and all our children's future—is my stake in this election."

After her husband won, she gracefully stepped into the role of First Lady as the first black woman to do so. Focused on social issues like education and healthy living, she was deeply committed to the well-being of our nation and to the future of its people, especially its children. Her charisma, confidence and openness created an approachable air to the White House. Though her days as First Lady are over, her influence hasn't waned. Her lived experience sends the message that through kindness, diligence, intelligence and honesty, you can effectively change the world. If she can do it, you can do it too. —*Zazie Beetz*

*Beetz is an actor*

YOUSAFZAI, PICTURED IN PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN, ON MARCH 26, 2009

2009 | DEFYING THE TALIBAN

# *MALALA YOUSAFZAI*

BY JENNIFER SALKE

WHEN BBC URDU ASKED MALALA YOUSAFZAI'S FATHER IF one of his students would blog about life under the local Taliban, his daughter took on the task. Her first post was published under the pen name Gul Makai ("cornflower") on Jan. 3, 2009. She was 11 years old. Over the next three years, Yousafzai wrote about her life and her desire to get an education, in a region where girls' schools were being shuttered and bombed. As her renown grew, so did the threats against her life.

On Oct. 9, 2012, a gunman from the Pakistani Taliban boarded a school bus, called her out by name, then shot her in the face. When I heard the news, I was shaken to the core—here was a girl, just a year or two older than my own children. But Yousafzai not only survived but thrived, as an author, activist, Nobel Peace Prize laureate and role model for anyone who wants to make the world a better place. I often think about Yousafzai's bravery in daring to raise her voice on behalf of others and our obligation to follow her example—to be vigilant in the protection of basic human rights, whatever our age, whatever our circumstance. We can start by heeding her words: "Let us pick up our books and pens. They are our most powerful weapons."

*Salke is the head of Amazon Studios*



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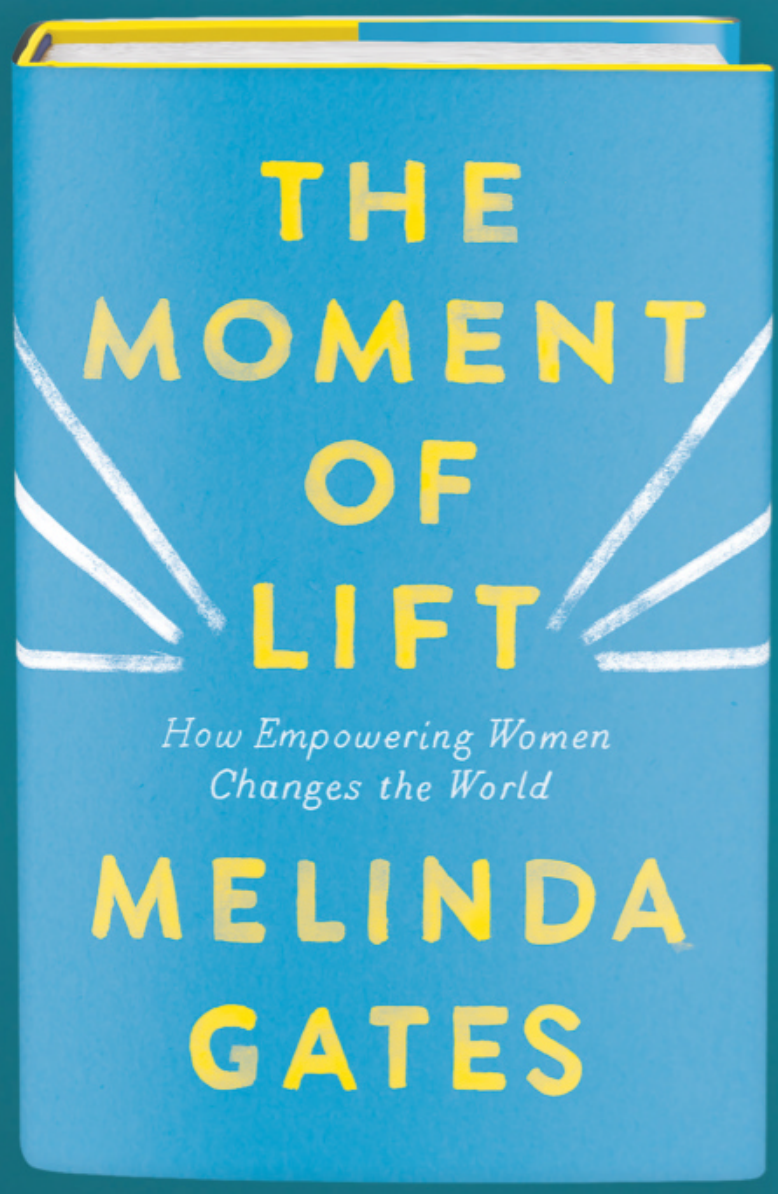


"BEAUTIFUL."
**—TREVOR NOAH**

"AN URGENT CALL TO COURAGE."
**—BRENÉ BROWN, Ph.D., author of *Dare to Lead***

"WE NEED THIS MESSAGE MORE THAN EVER."
**—MALALA YOUSAFZAI**

Melinda Gates makes a bold claim: when we lift up women, we lift up humanity. She shares the gut-wrenching, inspiring, and triumphant stories of women she's met from around the world. At this critical moment, it will ignite your sense of urgency to drive progress in your home, workplace, and community. Equality can't wait.

Available in hardcover, e-book and audio read by Melinda Gates

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FLATIRON BOOKS

PELOSI, AT HER DESK IN THE CAPITOL, ON DEC. 6, 2009

2010 | POLITICAL POWERHOUSE

# *NANCY PELOSI*

BY MOLLY BALL

FOR ABOUT A CENTURY, POLITICIANS TRIED AND FAILED TO create a program offering universal access to health care in America. With the passage of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) in 2010, it finally happened. But while the bill was widely nicknamed Obamacare, it wouldn't have gotten done without the Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi. When some White House advisers wanted to quit, Pelosi urged President Obama to keep going, and worked to convince her colleagues until there were enough votes: "If the gate is locked, we push open the gate. If we don't push open the gate, we'll pole vault over it. If that doesn't work, we'll parachute in. But we're not letting anything stand in the way of passing affordable health care for all Americans."

The ACA was just one of many achievements Pelosi racked up during her terms as the first woman Speaker from 2007 to 2011, including protections against pay discrimination for women, allowing gay people to serve openly in the military and saving the economy from financial collapse. When her party lost the majority in 2010, she refused to quit, and as minority leader, she still found ways to be effective, protecting the ACA and Obama's Iran nuclear deal against massive pressure from the right. Even many in her own party thought her time had passed—Republicans depicted her as an extreme liberal partisan, and many Democrats worried her polarizing persona was a liability for their party. But in 2018 she led them back to the majority and became the first Speaker in six decades to return to the Speakership after losing it. Today, Democrats hail her for her tenacity in standing up to President Trump, protecting America's system of checks and balances, and masterminding the third presidential impeachment in the nation's history.

*Ball, TIME's national political correspondent, is the author of the forthcoming biography* Pelosi

2011

## Tawakkol Karman

*Torchbearer of the Arab Spring*

**When the Arab Spring came to Yemen in 2011, Tawakkol Karman was already on the front lines, having four years earlier begun a weekly protest against corruption in the streets of its capital. Defying her conservative Muslim country's standards of acceptable female behavior, she called for the end of a regime she believed had robbed her nation's youth of its future. As the mother of two daughters and a son, she wanted to ensure that women's voices played a fundamental role in the revolution her country so badly needed. Her leadership at a sit-in that lasted several months earned her the nickname "Mother of the Revolution." Her insistence on peaceful dialogue in the face of tear-gas volleys, police raids and a brutal massacre earned her the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize, shared with Liberian peace activists Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Leymah Gbowee, for playing "a leading part in the struggle for women's rights and for democracy and peace in Yemen." She was the first Yemeni, the first Arab woman and the second Muslim woman to win a Nobel, and, at 32, the youngest Peace Prize laureate at the time.** ***—Aryn Baker***

TOLOKONNIKOVA, ALYOKHINA AND SAMUTSEVICH DURING A MOSCOW HEARING IN AUGUST 2012

2012

## Pussy Riot

*Confronting the Kremlin*

With colorful ski masks, explicit lyrics and mosh pit–ready dance moves, the feminist collective known as Pussy Riot grew out of the protest movement that peaked in Moscow in early 2012, the first street-level challenge to the reign of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

The group's viral videos mixed punk rock and performance art into a powerful form of rebellion, and it became an icon of the anti-Putin movement when three of its members were put on trial that summer. The charges against them were "hooliganism motivated by religious hatred or hostility." Their crime was a performance, which they called a "punk prayer," near the altar of Moscow's Cathedral of Christ the Savior. Its title was "Virgin Mary, chase Putin away!"

Two of them—Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, 22, and Maria Alyokhina, 24—were sentenced to three years in prison for the stunt. (Yekaterina Samutsevich received a suspended sentence.) Their public show trial forced a reckoning in Russia, an era-defining clash between Putin and a new generation of his subjects, who were rising up against his version of autocracy and demanding democratic change. That moment hasn't arrived yet, but Pussy Riot's message of defiance still inspires young women in Russia and far beyond.
*—Simon Shuster*

2013

## Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza and Opal Tometi

*The founders of Black Lives Matter*

In July 2013, when George Zimmerman was acquitted of fatally shooting Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teenager, activist Alicia Garza posted on Facebook, ending with: "black people. I love you. I love us. Our lives matter." Garza's friend Patrisse Cullors added the hashtag, and #BlackLivesMatter went viral. Amid outrage, the three words became a rallying cry for thousands around the world protesting violence and systemic racism against black people. Today, thanks to the movement's founders—Garza, Cullors and Opal Tometi—it has grown into one of the most influential social-justice groups in the world. With more than a dozen chapters and affiliates in major cities, Black Lives Matter has provided a model for other movements, including #NeverAgain, a student-led coalition for gun control, founded after the deadly school shooting in Parkland, Fla. While critics called Garza, Cullors and Tometi terrorists and threats to America, the activists continued urging the public to pay attention to the spate of fatal shootings of unarmed black men and women that followed Martin's, shutting down highways, blocking bridges and staging die-in demonstrations. "We will continue to fight like hell," Cullors wrote on the group's website, "because we deserve more." —*Melissa Chan*

BLACK LIVES MATTER: BEN BAKER—REDUX

KNOWLES-CARTER PERFORMS AT THE 2014 MTV VIDEO MUSIC AWARDS

KNOWLES-CARTER: KEVIN WINTER—GETTY IMAGES FOR MTV

2014 | REWRITING THE RULES

## *BEYONCÉ KNOWLES-CARTER*

BY BRITTNEY COOPER

WHEN BEYONCÉ KNOWLES-CARTER DEBUTED AS A MEMber of Destiny's Child in the '90s, no one could foresee that she would one day be the self-proclaimed "King Bey," as big as Michael Jackson, Janet Jackson or Prince. By the time she released her first solo album in 2003, her star power was clear, but in the music industry, shooting stars often fizzle. Virgos, astrologers tell us, are perfectionists, and Knowles-Carter, born in September 1981, treated each album like an opportunity to build. Her work ethic is rivaled only by her supreme ability to keep us out of her business. When she dropped her eponymous fifth album near midnight in December 2013, with no indication it was coming, her legend status was clear. *Beyoncé* was a visual album with sick beats and her signature girl-power anthems. But with "Flawless," she went a step further, sampling a Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie speech and explicitly claiming feminism for herself. Black feminists were beside themselves, with both excitement and disdain. Could a pop star really be down with smashing the patriarchy? Her performance in front of the word FEMINIST at the 2014 MTV Video Music Awards was a helluva way to punctuate a point.

A few years later, her explosive "Formation" let us know she was back, pro-black and unapologetic. The *Lemonade* album's overtures to Black Lives Matter insisted she may be pop, but she is also political. It was a hat tip to her haters and a nod to her serious critics. She's a woman of few words, but she's listening. It's this call-and-response between Beyoncé, the Bey-hivers and the Bey-haters that makes her a singular performer. Haters may hate, but she just gets better.

*Cooper is the author of* Eloquent Rage: A Black Feminist Discovers Her Superpower

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PRO

# Alice Guy-Blaché

Follow

## DIRECTOR / SCREENWRITER

The forgotten founder of cinema, Alice Guy-Blaché was the first woman to ever direct and head a film studio. The co-founder of Solax Studios, Guy-Blaché is considered by many as the first woman filmmaker. She wrote, produced, and directed over 1,000 films! While her male peers used the camera for technical exercises, she saw the potential for film to tell stories. She invented the music video by using lip-syncing, and was among the first to use color tinting, special effects, and close-ups. Her film, *A Fool and His Money*, has been noted as the first to feature an all-African-American cast and interracial relationships. However, as her male peers were praised as visionaries, Guy-Blaché's work was cast aside and overlooked, even misattributed to those men around her.

FEATURED

## The Ocean Waif

Play Add

## Work by Alice

Play all

A Fool and His Money

Two Little Rangers

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2015 PERSON OF THE YEAR ›

## Angela Merkel

*Chancellor of the free world*

For her first 10 years as Germany's Chancellor, Angela Merkel proceeded with the cautious deliberation of the young scientist she had been in communist East Germany. That temperament, combined with Germany's economic might, made Merkel the most consequential leader in a European Union that shared her devotion to human rights, free markets and open borders.

Then, in the summer of 2015, as desperate Syrian refugees poured into Europe, Merkel made an uncharacteristically quick decision. Letting into Germany some 1 million refugees was an audacious act of generosity that lifted hearts, confounded ISIS and made Merkel the TIME Person of the Year. But it also triggered an anti-immigrant backlash that nourished right-wing nativism.

Five years on, the refugees that *Mutti* ("Mommy") welcomed are still being absorbed into Germany. But reaction to the influx fractured her party and cost her the leadership both of her country—she has vowed to step down by 2021—and of a European project now less open, less united and less certain of itself. *—Karl Vick*

‹ 2016

## Hillary Rodham Clinton

*A historic run*

**In an era of feminist activism, it's easy to forget that it was once unthinkable that a woman could be President. Hillary Rodham Clinton changed that when, in 2016, she came within a hair's breadth of winning the White House. She also broke barriers along the way. As First Lady in the '90s, she took a more hands-on role in policymaking than her predecessors did, including overseeing the failed effort to pass comprehensive health care reform. It was also during this time that she famously declared that "human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights." Clinton was the first First Lady to seek elected office, and the first female Senator of New York. As Secretary of State under President Barack Obama, she spread what became known as the "Hillary Doctrine," which linked the empowerment of women and girls to national security. And though she lost the presidency to Donald Trump, she won the popular vote by nearly 3 million. Over the course of her political career, Clinton has been both beloved and reviled. Critics can certainly point to mistakes of her own making, but she has also faced what she calls a "pernicious double standard." Clinton has come to symbolize both the great strides forward for women in politics and the stiff headwinds they still confront. *—Charlotte Alter***



MERKEL: STEFAN BONESS—PANOS PICTURES; CLINTON: JOE PUGLIESE—AUGUST

09.26.2020

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PICTURED ABOVE ARE WOMEN FROM THE SILENCE BREAKERS

2017 PERSON OF THE YEAR

## The Silence Breakers

*Voices that launched a movement*

The hashtag #MeToo went viral in October 2017 after Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein was accused of sexual misconduct by dozens of women. But the movement had been brewing all year. That February, Susan Fowler blew the whistle on a culture of harassment at Uber and inspired hundreds of women in Silicon Valley to share their own stories. In August, Taylor Swift testified in court about being groped by a Denver DJ. That same month, seven female employees sued the Plaza Hotel in New York City alleging sexual harassment by co-workers. In October, a woman using the pseudonym Isabel Pascual helped plan a rally for agricultural workers who were being harassed and threatened. A few weeks later, Adama Iwu organized an open letter signed by 150 women about harassment in the California state capitol, leading to an investigation. In a matter of months, the #MeToo movement felled hundreds of men accused of harassment or assault, from Matt Lauer to Kevin Spacey, and spurred the launch of organizations like Time's Up that aim to create lasting change in workplaces.

Progress has been neither quick nor linear. The Plaza suit is ongoing. Survivors and activists expressed righteous indignation when Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh was confirmed despite allegations of assault. Still, the ripples of #MeToo have not dissipated. Weinstein was found guilty of rape in February 2020 and ordered to await sentencing from jail, a signal to women that their stories can be believed and that even the most powerful men can face consequences. Using the name coined by TIME in its 2017 Person of the Year issue, a group of Weinstein accusers now call themselves the Silence Breakers. "What I wanted to do was cause a massive cultural reset," Rose McGowan, one of the accusers, said on the day of the verdict. "We achieved that today." —*Eliana Dockterman*

2018 PERSON OF THE YEAR | THE GUARDIANS

## *MARIA RESSA*

BY KARL VICK

BY 2012, MARIA RESSA HAD ALREADY HAD AN IMPRESsive career in news when she and three other women started Rappler, aiming to serve a Filipino population rapidly moving online. But the news site turned into a global bellwether for free, accurate information at the vortex of two malign forces: one was the angry populism of an elected President with authoritarian inclinations, Rodrigo Duterte; the other was social media.

In the Philippines, the Internet largely exists on Facebook, because the platform offers free data through its mobile app. But it fell to Ressa's reporters to expose dozens of fake and spam-heavy accounts Duterte supporters used to manipulate the online discourse that many now mistake for reality. For her trouble, Ressa was subjected to an online hate campaign and multiple arrests.

TIME named Ressa a 2018 Person of the Year, including her with the staff of the Capital Gazette and others as a Guardian in the War on Truth. Since then, she has continued to navigate the murk between social media and despotism, calling out her findings to the rest of us at the risk of her life.

SILENCE BREAKERS: BILLY & HELLS FOR TIME; RESSA: MOISES SAMAN—MAGNUM PHOTOS FOR TIME

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# *'I HAVE JUST ACTED ON MY CONSCIENCE AND DONE WHAT EVERYONE SHOULD BE DOING.'*

## Greta Thunberg

**2019** PERSON OF THE YEAR | THE POWER OF YOUTH

Greta Thunberg most famously acted on her conscience in August 2018, when the then 15-year-old staged a school strike in front of the Swedish Parliament to protest government inaction on climate change. By September 2019, an estimated 4 million people had joined her in the largest climate demonstration in history. TIME named her its youngest ever individual Person of the Year. "We are the ones right now who are leading the way," she told thousands at a strike in Madrid. "The people in power need to catch up with us." —*Suyin Haynes*

EVGENIA ARBUGAEVA FOR TIME

TIME

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50 YEARS AGO IN *TIME*

# *ANNOTATIONS FROM THE FUTURE*

BY GLORIA STEINEM

IN THE HALF-CENTURY SINCE I WROTE THE ESSAY BELOW, as part of a cover story on "The Politics of Sex," there has been some definite progress. "Women's issues" are no longer in a silo but are understood as fundamental to everything. For instance, the single biggest determinant of whether a country is violent, or will use military violence against another country, is not poverty, natural resources, religion or even degree of democracy; it is violence against women. And since racial separation can't be perpetuated in the long run without controlling reproduction—and thus women's bodies—racism and sexism are intertwined and can only be uprooted together.

A belief in equality, without division by sex or race, is now held by a huge majority in public-opinion polls. But a stubborn minority of Americans feel deprived of the unearned privilege of that old hierarchy and are in revolt. The time of greatest danger comes after a victory, and that's where we are now. Many of the predictions of my 50-year-old essay about the future hold up, but there are a few lessons I've learned since then (including to negotiate a writing fee beforehand, since my agent later told me I was paid less than male contributors).

I won't be around when these words are read 50 years from now, but I have faith in you who will be.

*Steinem is a writer and feminist organizer*

TIME ESSAY

## WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKE IF WOMEN WIN

*Seldom do utopias pass from dream to reality, but it is often an illuminating exercise to predict what could happen if they did. The following very personal and partisan speculations on how the world might be different if Women's Lib had its way were written for* TIME *by Gloria Steinem, a contributing editor of New York magazine, whose journalistic curiosity ranges from show business to Democratic politics. Miss Steinem admits to being not only a critical observer but a concerned advocate of the feminist revolt.*

ANY change is fearful, especially one affecting both politics and sex roles, so let me begin these utopian speculations with a fact. To break the ice.

Women don't want to exchange places with men. Male chauvinists, science-fiction writers and comedians may favor that idea for its shock value, but psychologists say it is a fantasy based on ruling-class ego and guilt. Men assume that women want to imitate them, which is just what white people assumed about blacks. An assumption so strong that it may convince the second-class group of the need to imitate, but for both women and blacks that stage has passed. Guilt produces the question: What if they could treat us as we have treated them?

That is not our goal. But we do want to change the economic system to one more based on merit. In Women's Lib Utopia, there will be free access to good jobs—and decent pay for the bad ones women have been performing all along, including housework. Increased skilled labor might lead to a four-hour workday, and higher wages would encourage further mechanization of repetitive jobs now kept alive by cheap labor.

GLORIA STEINEM

With women as half the country's elected representatives, and a woman President once in a while, the country's *machismo* problems would be greatly reduced. The old-fashioned idea that manhood depends on violence and victory is, after all, an important part of our troubles in the streets, and in Viet Nam. I'm not saying that women leaders would eliminate violence. We are not more moral than men; we are only uncorrupted by power so far. When we do acquire power, we might turn out to have an equal impulse toward aggression. Even now, Margaret Mead believes that women fight less often but more fiercely than men, because women are not taught the rules of the war game and fight only when cornered. But for the next 50 years or so, women in politics will be very valuable by tempering the idea of manhood into something less aggressive and better suited to this crowded, post-atomic planet. Consumer protection and children's rights, for instance, might get more legislative attention.

Men will have to give up ruling-class privileges, but in return they will no longer be the only ones to support the family, get drafted, bear the strain of power and responsibility. Freud to the contrary, anatomy is not destiny, at least not for more than nine months at a time. In Israel, women are drafted, and some have gone to war. In England, more men type and run switchboards. In India and Israel, a woman rules. In Sweden, both parents take care of the children. In this country, come Utopia, men and women won't reverse roles; they will be free to choose according to individual talents and preferences.

•

If role reform sounds sexually unsettling, think how it will change the sexual hypocrisy we have now. No more sex arranged on the barter system, with women pretending interest, and men never sure whether they are loved for themselves or for the security few women can get any other way. (Married or not, for sexual reasons or social ones, most women still find it second nature to Uncle-Tom.) No more men who are encouraged to spend a lifetime living with inferiors; with housekeepers, or dependent creatures who are still children. No more domineering wives, emasculating women, and "Jewish mothers," all of whom are simply human beings with all their normal ambition and drive confined to the home. No more unequal partnerships that eventually doom love and sex.

In order to produce that kind of confidence and individuality, child rearing will train according to talent. Little girls will no longer be surrounded by air-tight, self-fulfilling prophecies of natural passivity, lack of ambition and objectivity, inability to exercise power, and dexterity (so long as special aptitude for jobs requiring patience and dexterity is confined to poorly paid jobs; brain surgery is for males).

Schools and universities will help to break down traditional sex roles, even when parents will not. Half the teachers will be men, a rarity now at preschool and elementary levels; girls will not necessarily serve cookies or boys hoist up the flag. Athletic teams will be picked only by strength and skill. Sexually segregated courses like auto mechanics and home economics will be taken by boys and girls together. New courses in sexual politics will explore female subjugation as the model for political oppression, and women's history will be an academic staple, along with black history, at least until the white-male-oriented textbooks are integrated and rewritten.

•

As for the American child's classic problem—too much mother, too little father—that would be cured by an equalization of parental responsibility. Free nurseries, school lunches, family cafeterias built into every housing complex, service companies that will do household cleaning chores in a regular, businesslike way, and more responsibility by the entire community for the children: all these will make it possible for both mother and father to work, and to have equal leisure time with the children at home. For parents of very young children, however, a special job category, created by Government and unions, would allow such parents a shorter work day.

The revolution would not take away the option of being a housewife. A woman who prefers to be her husband's housekeeper and/or hostess would receive a percentage of his pay determined by the domestic relations courts. If divorced, she might be eligible for a pension fund, and for a job-training allowance. Or a divorce could be treated the same way that the dissolution of a business partnership is now.

If these proposals seem farfetched, consider Sweden, where most of them are already in effect. Sweden is not yet a working Women's Lib model; most of the role-reform programs began less than a decade ago, and are just beginning to take hold. But that country is so far ahead of us in recognizing the problem that Swedish statements on sex and equality sound like bulletins from the moon.

Our marriage laws, for instance, are so reactionary that Women's Lib groups want couples to take a compulsory written exam on the law, as for a driver's license, before going through with the wedding. A man has alimony and wifely debts to worry about, but a woman may lose so many of her civil rights that in the U.S. now, in important legal ways, she becomes a child again. In some states, she cannot

TIME, AUGUST 31, 1970

22

**1** **'Increased skilled labor might lead to a four-hour workday'**

As people look at screens more than at one another, the opposite has happened; the workday never ends

**2** **'With women as half the country's elected representatives, and a woman President once in a while'**

With Trump as a backlash to Obama, almost any woman President would be a relief

**3** **'Half the teachers will be men'**

Not until we start paying public-school teachers as much as every other democracy does

**4** **'A divorce could be treated the same way that the dissolution of a business partnership is now'**

Once domestic labor is accorded the same value as salaried work

**5** **'Thus Women's Lib may achieve a more peaceful society on the way toward its other goals'**

The relationship between violence against females and all violence other than self-defense should inform our foreign policy

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Serena Williams

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